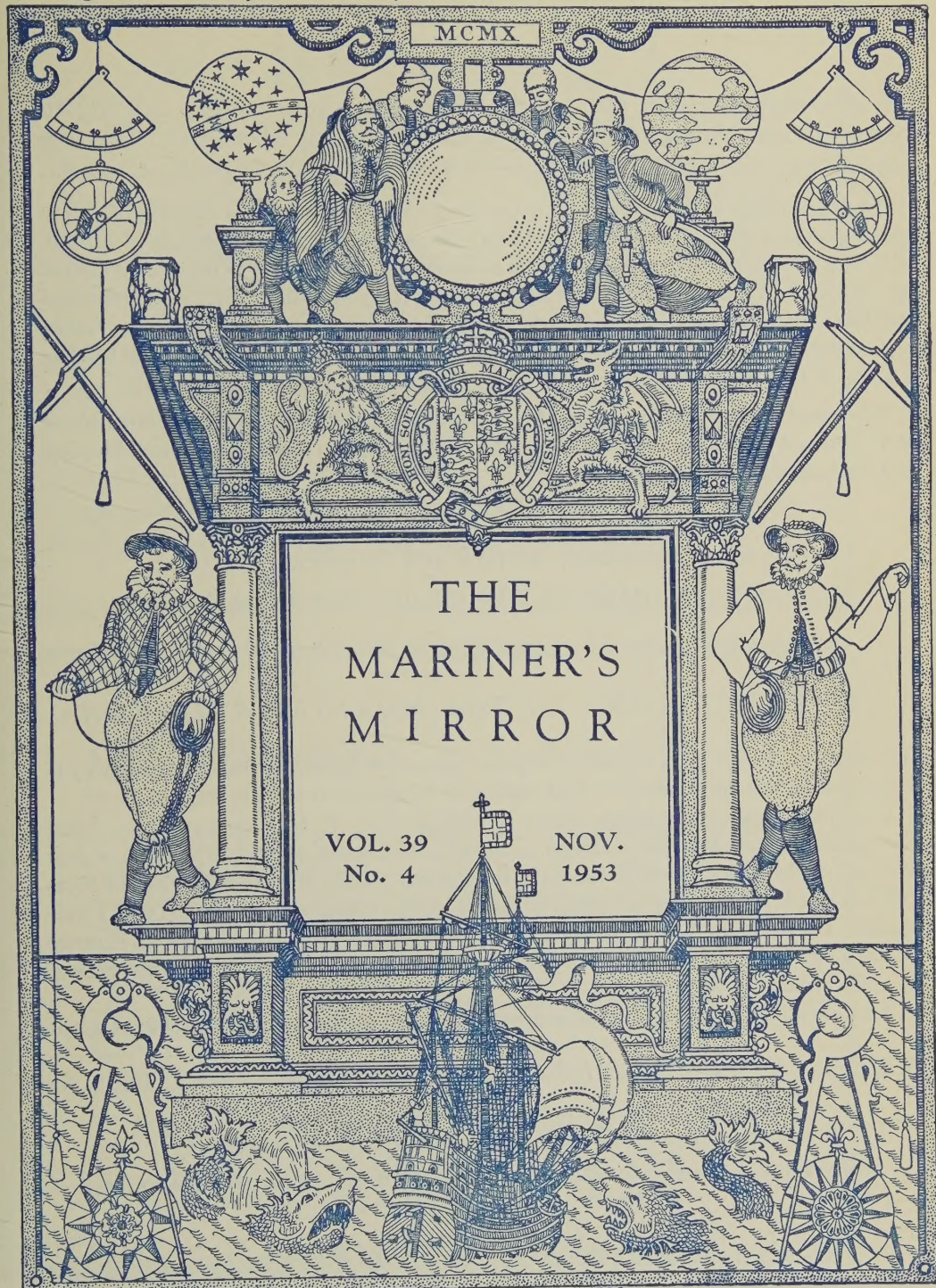


THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL of the SOCIETY FOR NAUTICAL RESEARCH



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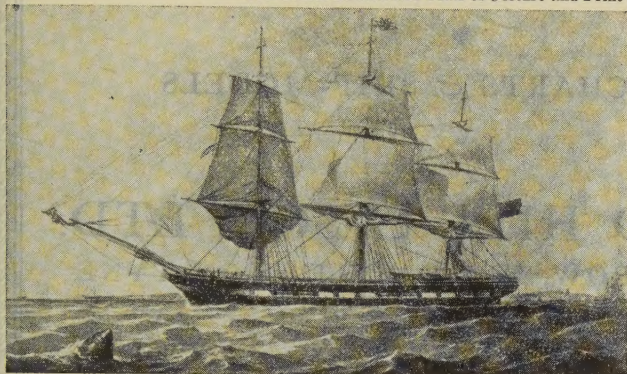
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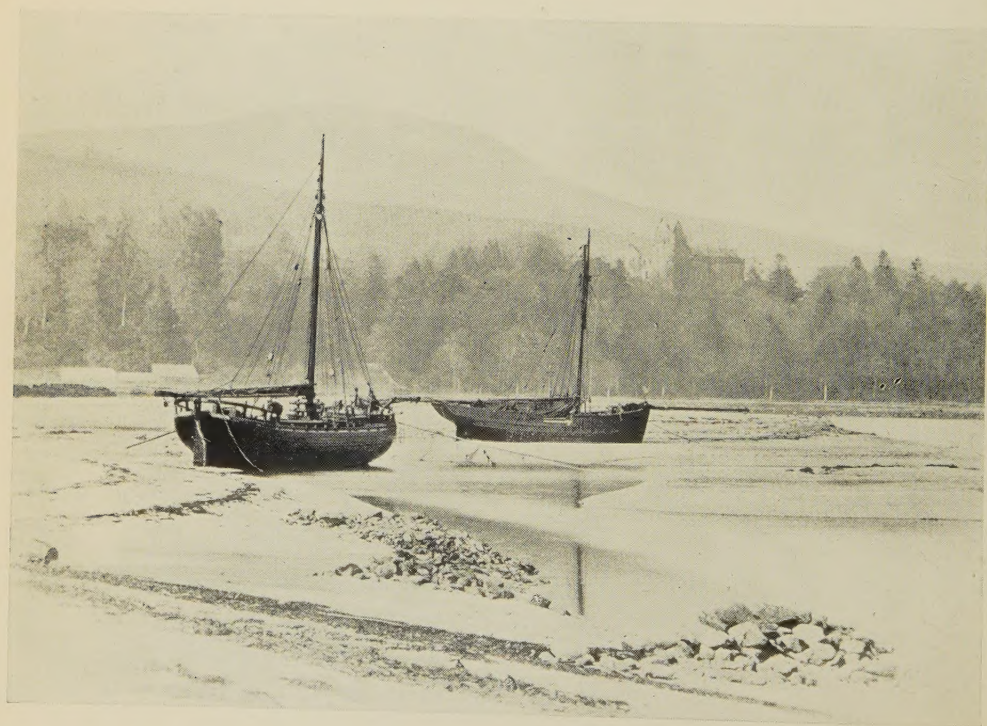
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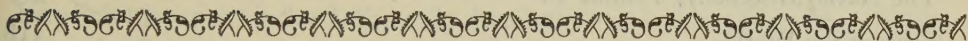
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November 1953



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(a) The Gabert <i>Mary</i>	} <i>Frontispiece</i>
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MORE LIGHT ON THE *CHESAPEAKE*By *Anthony Steel*

EVERYONE knows about the war-time duel between the U.S. frigate *Chesapeake* and H.M.S. *Shannon*, but Englishmen are perhaps less familiar with the more inglorious story of 22 June 1807, when the ill-fated *Chesapeake* struck her flag for the first time to H.M.S. *Leopard*. It is not an incident which the British are eager to remember or Americans likely to forget, for it took place when the two countries were at peace with one another and was not avenged until the U.S.S. *Constitution* made a similar peace-time assault on H.M.S. *Little Belt* in 1811. Most American historians give full details of both encounters, but they are rarely to be found in English histories: indeed, the only detailed description of the 1807 incident from the British angle is that of William James in the fourth volume of his *Naval History of Great Britain*.¹

James's introduction to the story² repeats the British theories of indefeasible nationality and maritime rights, more especially the right of impressment, which were current in the Napoleonic period but were abandoned in the second half of the nineteenth century.³ The right of impressment was held to include that of stopping and searching neutral shipping, generally American, on the high seas, and of removing any British subjects found on board. With insignificant exceptions, it had never been applied to the United States Navy before June 1807, or indeed to the armed forces of any other Power: this was broadly true as far back as the reign of Queen Anne.⁴ The Americans of course rejected it *in toto*, together with the other British theories: their position in 1807 was in fact already much the same as the international law upon the subject generally accepted

1 Edition of 1860, pp. 249-56. The account by Theodore Roosevelt in *The Royal Navy*, vi, 17-19, ed. Wm. Laird Clowes, 1901, is very slight and word for word identical with the same author's *Naval Operations of the War between Great Britain and the United States* (London, 1910), pp. 28-30. There is a much better description from the American angle in Henry Adams, *History of the United States under the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison*, iv, 1-20.

2 *Op. cit.* pp. 245-9.

3 For a discussion of these theories and the problems to which they gave rise see my 'Anthony Merry and the Anglo-American Dispute about Impressment, 1803-06', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, Vol. ix, pp. 331-51.

4 For a full statement, apparently endeavouring to find some legal justification for the attack upon the *Chesapeake*, see a paper headed 'Principles and Positions applying to the American Question', by Sir John Nicholl, Advocate-General; Public Record Office, F.O. 5/104, not dated, but bound between papers of 3 November 1806 and July 1807.

by civilized States some sixty-five years later. It differed from that law less in principle than in the fact that it was only stated piecemeal and *ad hoc*, and had not yet earned the solemn recognition by Great Britain and other Powers at international congresses which the later law received. In 1807 all such ideas were in a fluid state; there was no universally accepted set of rules, and if the United States had the future on their side Great Britain had the sea-power and most of the existing precedents.

For our present purposes, however, these wider issues are irrelevant, since the *Chesapeake* incident turned upon the simple question whether British deserters could or could not be legally reclaimed in war-time from an American, that is, a neutral, ship of war outside her own territorial waters. The Americans said that they could not, and furthermore denied the belligerent warship the right even of visit, much more that of search. On the other hand Vice-Admiral Sir George Cranfield Berkeley, then British C.-in-C. Halifax, said they could, and instructed his flag captain, Captain Humphreys, to use force if force should be required. As a result of this order severe damage was done to the obstinate and unsuspecting *Chesapeake* and there were numerous casualties on board, some fatal. Canning, who was then Foreign Secretary, promptly disavowed the Navy's action, recalled Vice-Admiral Berkeley and offered reparations. On this particular issue the Royal Navy was therefore clearly wrong to take the law into its own hands, but what has never been disclosed is the true composition of the crew of the *Chesapeake* and the amount of provocation which the British had received.

It is unnecessary to carry the story back before the beginning of the year 1807, although some earlier instances could be found of the voluntary surrender by the British of deserters from the American armed forces and the withholding of British naval deserters by the Americans. We may start with a demand made on 4 January¹ by David Erskine, the new British minister at Washington, for the surrender of a prize crew put on board the American merchantman *Cincinnati* by H.M.S. *Bermuda*. This crew had mutinied against the prize master and had brought the ship into a New England port, after which they had deserted and were said to be in Boston. The American Secretary of State, James Madison, after ostentatiously forbearing to question the initial right of the *Bermuda* to seize the *Cincinnati* at all, replied² to Erskine's letter by denying the liability of the United States under the Anglo-American treaty of 1794³ to surrender any fugitives

¹ F.O. 5/52: Copy, Erskine to Madison, 4 January 1807.

² F.O. 5/52: Copy, Madison to Erskine, 7 January 1807. There are further particulars about an alleged American citizen held in the *Bellona* at this time in F.O. 5/53, Madison to Erskine, 9 January 1807.

³ This was the famous Jay-Grenville treaty, which caused such an uproar in America.

not accused of 'actual Murder or Forgery'. The latter part of his letter mentions for the first time the more serious trouble in Chesapeake Bay, especially that part of it known as Hampton Roads, which was to agitate the two nations for the whole of 1807. It reads thus:

... The Collector of Norfolk has lately transmitted a Copy of a Letter from Captain Douglas of H.B.M.'s Ship of War, the *Bellona*, to the British Consul at that Place, on the Subject of certain American Citizens detained on Board British Ships of War lying in the Harbours of Virginia; in which Letter he refuses to discharge them without particular Orders to that Effect from the British Admiral at Halifax, and undertakes to assign for a Reason the Neglect to surrender the British Seamen who are the Subject of your Letter. You will, doubtless, Sir, see in its true Light Conduct so extraordinary: and I assure myself that the Efficacy of your Interposition will relieve the Government of the United States from the painful Steps which may otherwise become indispensable for maintaining the Rights of Citizens suffering illegal Violence within the very Harbours of their own Country....

This letter is the clue to much of what follows. It gave rise to an immediate interview between the two diplomats, the gist of which was reported to the Foreign Office by Erskine on 1 February.¹ He represents Madison as 'much exasperated' by the practical impossibility of applying for releases to the British admiral at Halifax in every individual case as it arose, and as threatening to 'cut off all Supplies for H.M.'s Ships from the Shore'. This was said to be merely a preliminary measure, but it was not made clear to Erskine what further steps, if any, could be taken. Erskine thought the whole thing 'a Point of comparatively trifling Importance' and could not understand why the American Administration was taking it so seriously. He was wiser by 17 July 1807, when in writing to Canning about the *Chesapeake* incident² he referred to Madison's letter of 7 January as the beginning of the whole affair.

We must now turn to James's *Naval History of Great Britain*³ for a picture of what was really going on in Chesapeake Bay during the first months of 1807. The presence of the British force, which consisted of two (later three) 74's and a number of smaller vessels, was caused by the fact that two French line-of-battle ships had taken refuge from the weather at Annapolis, where they were being hospitably treated to an indefinite stay while the damage which they had sustained was made good. In equal contradiction to what is now the international law upon the subject, one of the British ships, the *Chichester* (a reduced 44, Captain Stopford), was actually lying alongside the navy wharf at Gosport, Virginia, for the same purpose of undergoing repairs. The opportunity thus presented to abscond had proved too much for five of her marines, all British-born, who had deserted to the United States military service and were repeatedly seen by their

1 F.O. 5/52: Erskine's No. 3 to Lord Howick, 1 February 1807.

2 F.O. 5/52: Erskine's No. 21 to Canning, 17 July 1807.

3 *Op. cit.* pp. 247-8.

ex-comrades walking about Gosport in American army uniform. Captain Douglas of the *Bellona*, as the British S.N.O., had frequently demanded their return without success, a fact which may be set against his continued retention in his own ship of at least one reputed American citizen.

This strained state of affairs explains an unfortunate incident which took place early in February and still further exacerbated relations between the Royal Navy and the Americans. This occurred when Captain Stopford of the *Chichester* was compelled by an armed party led by the commandant of Fort Nelson to submit to his ship being searched for three 'American' deserters, again all British-born, but all of them none the less forcibly removed from him and marched off under guard. As if this were not enough, the American military commandant, Captain Saunders, ordered the arrest and confinement of one of the *Chichester's* midshipmen, Mr Brookes, for remarking that 'it was not right to give up their deserters, when they would not give up ours'.

Matters were carried a stage further in March, when H.M. consul at Norfolk, Colonel Hamilton, asked Captain Decatur of the United States Navy for the return of four naval deserters from H.M.S. *Melampus* and also of two merchant seamen who had illegally quitted the British merchant ship *Herald*.¹ Captain Decatur merely referred him to 'Lieutenant Sinclair charged with the recruiting Service at this Place . . . under the immediate Orders of the Navy Department'.² Through this officer Hamilton ultimately recovered the two merchant seamen but not the naval ratings, and this in spite of a supplementary appeal (recommended by Sinclair)³ to the civil authority, i.e. the mayor of Norfolk.⁴ According to Hamilton's report to Erskine on 17 March, the mayor took the advice of the eminent Virginian lawyer and politician, Littleton Tazewell, who wrote a long and learned opinion for him on the case, a copy of which was being sent by Hamilton to Vice-Admiral Berkeley! Incidentally, this report of Hamilton's has attached to it an interesting postscript, showing that the apparent parity of treatment accorded to French and British warships was illusory.

P.S. I have just received a Letter from Mr Wood of Baltimore acquainting me that some French Officers belonging to l'Isle and le Patriote, were there in Pursuit of Deserters from those Ships, whom, with the Assistance of Constables, they apprehended whenever they met them.

There is other evidence in the consuls' reports about this time to much the same effect.

1 F.O. 5/52: Hamilton to Decatur, 6 and 7 March 1807.

2 *Ibid.*: Decatur to Hamilton, 7 March 1807.

3 *Ibid.*: Sinclair to Hamilton, 8 March 1807.

4 *Ibid.*: Hamilton to the mayor of Norfolk, 10 March 1807.

Towards the close of his letter to the mayor of Norfolk Hamilton added to his other requests one for the return of five other British naval ratings, 'whose Descriptions are enclosed, who have since the Date of my Application to Lieutenant Sinclair, deserted from H.M. Sloop *Halifax* in Hampton Roads, by carrying away the Jolly Boat, and menacing the Officer who was in it with Death, if he resisted them in their Escape'. This incident is described in greater detail by James,¹ who gives the names of the men as William Hill, admittedly of Philadelphia, with four British-born seamen, Richard Hubert, Henry Saunders, George North and Jenkin Ratford. We shall meet some of these again, not to mention William Ware, Daniel Martin and John Strachan, three of the earlier deserters from the *Melampus*. But we shall not always meet them in this guise, for the *Halifax* deserters, though not those from the *Melampus*, were enlisted by Lieutenant Sinclair under 'second', that is, assumed, names, apparently at his own suggestion.² They were then posted to the U.S. frigate *Chesapeake*, now at anchor in Hampton Roads and fitting out for the Mediterranean, and were frequently observed by British officers walking about the streets of Norfolk. On at least one occasion they were accosted by their former commanding officer, when Ratford took the opportunity to insult him and to prevent the weaker characters returning to their allegiance. Representations to the United States naval and civic authorities all failed, as 'nothing was known' of the men under their true names, but at the same time some echo of these proceedings seems to have reached the Navy Department at Washington, since on 6 April, Secretary Robert Smith sent a signal to Commodore James Barron, who had hoisted his broad pennant in the *Chesapeake*, ordering him to enquire about the presence of alleged British deserters (listed under their true names) on the ship, and to 'direct the recruiting officers in no case to enter deserters from British ships of war'.³

The only recorded reply from Commodore Barron to this signal is attached to his account of the action with H.M.S. *Leopard* on 22 June and has never previously been printed. It is deliberately evasive in that it deals wholly with the less flagrant case of the *Melampus* deserters and does not even mention the five men from the *Halifax* referred to by Secretary Smith. Probably the reason is that no pseudonyms were used in the case of the *Melampus* men and in any event it was comparatively easy to prove the American origins of this group of four, two of whom were coloured men.

¹ *Op. cit.* pp. 248-9.

² James, *op. cit.* p. 249.

³ F.O. 5/54: Secretary of the Navy to Commodore James Barron, 6 April 1807 (apparently enclosed in Monroe to Canning, 7 September 1807).

Commodore Barron's statement,¹ which was supported by several affidavits, was as follows.

William Ware, pressed from on board the Brig Neptune, Captain Crafts,² by the British frigate *Melampus* in the bay of Biscay, and has served 15 months on board the said frigate.

He is a native American born at Bruce's Mills on Pipe Creek, in the County of Frederick, Maryland, and served his time at the said mills. He also lived at Ellicott's mills near Baltimore and drove a waggon several years between Hagerston and Baltimore. He also served 18 months on board the U.S. frigate Chesapeake under the command of Captain Harris and Captain J. Barron. He is an Indian looking man.

Daniel Martin was impressed at the same time and place—a native of Westport in Massachusetts, about 30 miles to the eastward of Newport, Rhode Island—Served his time out of New York with Captain Marronby of the Caledonia. Refers to Mr Benjamin Davy merchant, and Mr Benjamin Corce of Westport. He is a coloured man.

J. Strachan—born in Queen Anne's County, Maryland, between Centreville and Queenstown. Sailed in the Brigantine Martha Bland, Captain Wyvill from Norfolk to Dublin and from thence to Liverpool. He there left the brig and shipped on board an English Guineaman. He was impressed on board the *Melampus* off Cape Finisterre. To better his situation he consented to enter, being determined to make his escape when opportunity offered. He served on board said frigate two years. Refers to Mr Tho. Price and—Pratt Esq. on Kent Island who know his relations. He is a white man about 5 feet 7 inches high.

William Ware and J. Strachan have protections, Daniel Martin says he lost his after leaving the frigate.

John Little alias Francis, and Ambrose Watts³ escaped from the *Melampus* at the same time—are known to the above persons to be Americans, but have not been entered by my recruiting officer.

William Ware, Dan. Martin and Jno. Strachan state that some time in February last there was an entertainment on board the *Melampus* then lying in Hampton Roads—That while the Officers were engaged and all the Ship's boat except the captain's gig hoisted in, they and the two other men mentioned availed themselves of the opportunity to seize the gig and row off. That as soon as they got into the boat, they were hailed to know what they were going to do: they replied they were going ashore. A brisk fire of musketry instantly commenced from the ship; but in defiance of the danger and at the hazard of their lives, they continued to row and finally effected their escape to land at Sewell's point.⁴ That they then carefully hawled the boat on the beach, rolled up the coat and placed that and the oars in the boat etc.

(signed) JAS BARRON

The supporting affidavits show that William Ware was certainly an ex-slave (never formally liberated), who as a teamster had passed by the name of Romulus, and that the Americans had reason to believe that 'the British Minister Mr Erskine was perfectly satisfied on the subject, in as much as they were (all) native American citizens, impressed by the officers of the *Melampus*'. Lieutenant John Meade of H.M.S. *Leopard*, however, had stated on the fatal 22 June that the Navy 'did not know Mr Erskine in the business'. This was before a shot had been fired and while negotiations were proceeding.

¹ F.O. 5/54: Commodore James Barron to Secretary Smith. Undated, but apparently enclosed in Monroe to Canning, 7 September 1807.

² More correctly, Crofts. See his deposition, quoted below, pp. 250–1.

³ Oddly enough, this man does not seem to have been claimed by the British.

⁴ The place reached by the *Halifax* deserters.

None the less Meade must have returned to the *Leopard* knowing pretty well that there was not much doubt about the true nationality of the *Melampus* deserters. Still the fact was irrelevant, for, strange to say, Vice-Admiral Berkeley's orders, under which Captain Humphreys of the *Leopard* was acting, mentioned deserters from the *Belleisle*, *Bellona*, *Triumph*, *Chichester*, *Halifax* and *Zenobia* cutter, but *not* those from the *Melampus*.¹ Commodore Barron was therefore technically correct from his point of view in replying² 'I know of no such men as you describe. The officers, that were on the recruiting service for this ship, were particularly instructed from the government, through me, not to enter any deserters from his Britannic majesty's ships; *nor do I know of any being here.*'³

In view of Vice-Admiral Berkeley's instructions it is all the more remarkable that, after the one-sided action which immediately followed, only one *Halifax* rating, Jenkin Ratford *alias* Wilson, was forcibly removed from the *Chesapeake* but no deserters from the other ships mentioned: on the other hand three of the *Melampus* men (Ware, Martin and Strachan) were taken. In one of the affidavits afterwards produced by Barron⁴ it is alleged that the captain of the *Chesapeake*, Charles Gordon, told the British boarding-party that the seamen they were taking were American citizens, but the reply was, 'if they were native American citizens, they had received the King's bounty'. This was good Admiralty doctrine at that date, but its application in the aggravated circumstances, coupled with the omission to take other men against whom a stronger case might have been made, was to say the least of it unwise and raises a distinct problem. The fact seems to have been that although the *Chesapeake* was full of British seamen none of these, other than the four taken, could be definitely identified at that time as known persons or be precisely associated with any particular British warship. This is shown by Captain Humphreys' first report on his action to Captain Douglas:⁵ 'several other English Subjects composed Part of the Crew of the Frigate, but as they did not claim the Protection of the British Flag, and not (*sic*) within the Limits of my Orders from the Commander-in-Chief,⁶ I therefore allowed them to remain'. It is this large residue which is of special

1 James, *op. cit.* Vol. iv, p. 250.

2 *Ibid.* p. 251.

3 That is, under their true names! (My italics.)

4 F.O. 5/54: Commodore James Barron to Secretary Smith. Undated, but apparently enclosed in Monroe to Canning, 7 September 1807.

5 F.O. 5/52: Captain Humphreys to Captain Douglas, 22 June 1807, enclosed in Erskine's No. 20 to Canning, 17 July 1807.

6 This can only mean that they could not be proved to have served in any of the ships named in Vice-Admiral Berkeley's instructions. Yet this did not prevent Humphreys taking known deserters from the *Melampus*, which suggests that he was prepared to take (a) men proved to have deserted from the ships on Berkeley's list, (b) *identified* naval deserters from any other British ships, (c) any British subjects who desired the protection of the flag, but no others.

interest, but before coming to it there is a postscript to be added to the story of Jenkin Ratford and another to Barron's version¹ of the histories of the three *Melampus* men.

It was the *Melampus* matter which came up first, viz. in August and September 1807, by which time it had become quite clear not only to the British but also to Jefferson's Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, and by inference to the rest of the American Cabinet, that the three men concerned had never been pressed at all, but were really volunteers.² It was true that William Ware, Daniel Martin and others had been temporarily removed from the American brig *Neptune* in the Bay of Biscay, but the whole crew of this vessel was immediately returned to her when the *Melampus* reached Plymouth a few weeks later, and it was two days *after* this had been done when Ware and Martin were reluctantly³ accepted by the captain of the *Melampus* as extremely ardent volunteers. The same report from the *Melampus*⁴ states that 'with respect to J. Strachan he was one of the Men, who volunteered for his Majesty's Ship *Melampus*, on the 15th of March 1805 from the Active Guineaman belonging to Liverpool, and it was with some difficulty that I prevented the principal part of her Crew, from leaving her. . . '.

So far the records of the *Melampus* as summarized by Professor Burt, but the consuls' reports, which Professor Burt does not seem to have consulted, add some picturesque detail, together with the very interesting information that a leading member of the Jefferson administration was perfectly conversant with the true state of affairs. The evidence is incontrovertible, for it comes from the American master of the *Neptune*, Captain Crofts,⁵ and confirms that of the *Melampus* in every respect. It reads as follows.

Mr Gallatin.

Sir.

In conformity with your request I send you a statement of those Seamen as correct as my memory and the Log Book admits.—I sailed from New York on the 13th of October 1805 in the Brig *Neptune* bound for Bourdeaux, on the 17th of November following in the Bay of Biscay was brought too by the British Frigate *Melampus*, Stephen Poyntz Esquire Commander, all the Crew except myself and Boy and all the Passengers except two Children were taken out. An Officer and nine men were sent on board, and the *Neptune* ordered for Plymouth, England, where we arrived

1 Above, pp. 248-9.

2 Their story has been told in outline by Professor A. L. Burt, *The United States, Great Britain and British North America, from the Revolution to the Establishment of Peace after the War of 1812*, p. 243 n., but only in a footnote and in a highly compressed form.

3 'Reluctantly' because of Captain Poyntz's aversion to men of colour.

4 F.O. 5/52: enclosed in Erskine's No. 24 to Canning, 1 September 1807. The report is dated 11 August 1807 and signed by J. S. Creighton, 1st Lieut.

5 F.O. 5/53: Crofts to Gallatin, 7 August 1807, enclosed in Thomas Barclay (H.M. Consul-General in New York since 1799) to Canning, 2 September 1807.

the 27th said month. After performing quarantine, I went through an examination, the Vessel and Cargo were liberated about the middle of December following. I remained there for the want of a crew and to complete some repairs until the 1st of January 1806, when the said *Melampus* arrived at Plymouth, delivered up the whole of the Crew. On the 2d at 8 P.M. Wm. Ware, Daniel Martin... (and two others)... went on Shore without Liberty, strong suspicions were entertained that they took a bag of Coffee and cut another and took some coffee out, they returned that same night about midnight, being asked about the Coffee Wm. Ware swore he would do no more duty on board, he being intoxicated I did not take much notice of him. On the morning of the 3d Wm. Ware and Daniel Martin were ordered ashore with long Boat and some empty water casks in order to get them filled, I went on shore shortly afterwards and saw the Boat laying along side of the Quay and not one of them near her, I saw Wm. Ware with some of the *Melampus*'s crew, and asked him what was the reason, those casks were not filled, he gave me a very impertinent answer and said he would not fill them, after which he never returned on board the *Neptune* nor did Daniel Martin... The next day I saw Captain Poyntz and asked him if he pressed my men or if they had entered. I told him that if he did either that he would distress me considerably as I could not get men—he said that he had not pressed them and did not want to enter them for he had his complement of men and they were coloured People and he believed them to be great Scoundrels. If they did enter he should expect me to pay them their Wages. I replied that I should not. Since that time I have not seen or heard any thing of them until I saw their names in the Paper a few days past. They had all American protections and were Americans to the best of my Knowledge. I have heard Ware boast of his ancestors and say that his mother was an Indian and his father a Scotchman—Daniel Martin is a dark mulatto... There were no provocation for their leaving the *Neptune* that I know of, they were never abused they had best Provisions as good Beef as the Market afforded and as much as they could make use of and vegetables of different kinds.

signed—JNO. CROFTS

In forwarding a copy of this letter to Canning, Barclay said that it had been written at the request of 'Mr Gallatin, the American Secretary of the Treasury', who had called upon Captain Crofts in New York for the purpose of checking Commodore Barron's statements about the deserters from the *Melampus*. Barclay's final paragraph suggests, though quite without authority, that Gallatin may have withheld the information thus obtained from Monroe, then United States Minister in London, but that is not to say that it was similarly withheld from Jefferson and Madison; indeed that seems exceedingly unlikely. Barclay writes:

I do not believe Mr Monroe has been furnished with this information, because Captain Crofts told me, after he had delivered his letter to Mr Gallatin and he had read it; *Mr Gallatin desired him to keep the facts to himself and not to make them public.*¹—Captain Crofts is now on a voyage up the Mediterranean, he assured me he was ready to verify under oath the letter he wrote to Mr Gallatin, and what Mr Gallatin said to him after he had perused it.

Whether Canning, had he received this evidence in time, would have been so quick to offer reparation for the *Chesapeake* affair remains an open question. The first reports of the incident which reached him were dated 1 and 2 July and seem to have arrived within a month, for his first instructions to

¹ My italics. This does not exclude the possibility of the facts having been confidentially communicated to persons in high office.

Erskine on the subject were dated 3 August 1807. On 22 September he sent Monroe an official Note rejecting the American Minister's attempts to link the outrage with the separate question of impressment from merchant vessels, and that concluded the initial phase of the negotiations. But Canning had also been committed from the first to the restoration of the three deserters who were not British subjects, though of course on condition that the *Chesapeake* affair was isolated and treated on its merits. He cannot possibly have received the further information sent by Erskine on 1 September and by Barclay on 2 September in time to influence his policy in any way, nor, even if he had received it, would it necessarily have had that effect. But when Canning knew, and knew that the American administration knew, that the three alleged 'victims' were not pressed men but volunteers, and that at least two of them were thoroughgoing rascals, he may not wholly have regretted the American refusal to accept the compensation he was offering in that particular respect. It may even have led him to insert in his instructions to the younger George Rose¹ words to the effect that, while His Majesty was prepared to discharge men taken by an unauthorized act out of the American frigate, he would reserve to himself the 'Right of reclaiming such of them as shall be proved to have been deserters from H.M.y's Service, or² natural-born subjects of His Majesty'. The distinction into two classes is obvious; but in fact neither Canning nor his successors at the Foreign Office ever pressed the point, as they very well might, that the three *Melampus* deserters, though without doubt American citizens, had equally without doubt entered His Majesty's service willingly, indeed enthusiastically, and entirely at their own suggestion.

The court-martial of the *Melampus* men, together with that of Jenkin Ratford, took place at Halifax, Nova Scotia, on 26 August 1807. Madison made little of the fact, when it was reported to him, that the three undoubted American nationals, though sentenced to five hundred lashes each, actually suffered nothing worse than an unduly prolonged period of 'temporary' imprisonment.³ But he waxed very indignant over the fate of the Englishman Jenkin Ratford, who was found guilty of mutiny and hanged, and

¹ B. Mayo, *Instructions to the British Ministers to the United States, 1791-1812*, pp. 235 ff., esp. p. 239. These instructions are dated 24 October 1807, by which date despatches of 1 and 2 September from America might easily have arrived.

² My italics.

³ They could have been released almost immediately if the American Administration had agreed to isolate the incident, as Canning hoped it would. But owing to official obstinacy some four years passed before the British offer of compensation was at last accepted in the terms on which it had originally been made. By this time one of the *Melampus* men was dead, but the survivors were brought to Boston and formally restored to the *Chesapeake*. Mahan, *Sea-Power in its Relation to the War of 1812*, Vol. 1, p. 255.

about the conduct of Vice-Admiral Berkeley in general.¹ Berkeley's own defence is contained in a letter he wrote to Erskine on 1 September,² in which he described the court-martial as a 'solemn' and 'authentically proved' investigation. He added for good measure a voluntary affidavit made by one of the *Bellona* men applied for by the Secretary of State. This affidavit described how the Scottish-born deponent, 'being rather intoxicated' and assisted by an Irish drayman, had purchased an American protection for three-quarters of a dollar from the collector of the customs at Baltimore. But a more elaborate and reasoned defence of the admiral's policy is to be found in a private letter sent to England by John Hoar, apparently a printer or publisher in Halifax. This letter was addressed to a Mr Francis Freeling, who sent it to the Foreign Office.³ It states that 'every day's experience shows that it had become highly necessary for Admiral Berkeley to take the step he did and put an end to the intercourse of our Ships with the American Shore': the writer then proceeds to quote two or three new cases of desertion. It is interesting to find that he distinguishes sharply between 'Northern' and 'Southern' American opinion and points out that the Administration's pro-French tendency is steadily opposed by 'a very strong Party'... composed of the best characters in the Northern States'. He admits that 'the Passions of all were at first operated upon, by the contest of the Ships', but maintains that 'this party appears to be fast returning to its reason, and to its original ground of opposition to the present American Administration'.

Meanwhile other incidents occurred. Thus on 25 September Captain Sir Robert Laurie, Bt., of H.M.S. *Milan*, was moved to write, not only on his own behalf but also on that of Captain Sir Thomas Hardy, H.M.S. *Triumph*, to Major Newton of the U.S. Army, Norfolk, upon points arising out of the mishaps of two British 'Dispatch Schooners' in the neighbourhood of Hampton Creek.

A Launch from the United States Frigate *Chesapeake* was sent down to the Schooners, and even in so small a Number as in one Boat's Crew, were avowedly two Deserters, both Native-born British Subjects,—George Curtis from the *Triumph* and John Birk from the *Bellona* and some other Englishmen, and who related that there were several more on board the *Chesapeake* (one of whom is now second Captain of her Fore-top and bore so indifferent a Character on board the Ship he was on that he would have been turned on Shore).

This, be it noted, was two months *after* the encounter with the *Leopard*, and although Madison denied all knowledge of John Birk (who in any case was probably passing under an assumed name) and although he maintained

¹ F.O. 5/52: Madison to Erskine, 9 October 1807, enclosed in Erskine to Canning, 24 October 1807. Cf. Madison to Monroe, 21 October 1807, in *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States, Canadian Relations, 1784-1860*, ed. W. R. Manning, Vol. 1, pp. 181-2.

² F.O. 5/52: enclosed in Erskine to Canning, 5 October 1807.

³ F.O. 5/55 (America: Domestic): 19 September 1807. 4 Obviously the Federalists.

that Curtis was a native-born American,¹ all he could say about the 'other Englishmen' and their stories was that they were probably not Englishmen at all.

About a month later George Rose the younger, on his way up to Washington, reported in his first despatch to Canning:²

The Frigate, the Chesapeake, is now lying at Anchor at Norfolk; I am informed, that two-thirds of her Crew, are British Subjects. It seems extremely probable, that this proportion may exist in the other ships of the State; the New England Seamen, from their habits, are little disposed to enter on board vessels of War, and the western and southern States have no nursery for Seamen, it is from amongst His Majesty's Seafaring Subjects alone, that the deficiency can be supplied to any Extent.

Of course this 'information' was in itself practically worthless: it could only have been the opinion of the local British consul, or more probably that of the officers of H.M.S. *Statira*, the frigate which had brought Rose to America and was now to lie in Hampton Roads until such time as that already disgruntled and extremely bad-tempered envoy should receive permission to proceed to Washington, should complete his mission and return. But it cannot be wholly neglected, for extravagant as the claim sounds it was to some extent borne out by later evidence, while even if such truth as it contained was wildly exaggerated it was clearly what the Royal Navy believed to be true at the time, and that was what really mattered.

Within a fortnight Rose's credentials had been accepted and he had gone ashore for what was destined to be a stay of nearly three months, during the whole of which time the *Statira* duly remained in Hampton Roads waiting for him. This period was entirely occupied by a long and complicated wrangle over deserters conducted by her commanding officer, Captain R. H. Bromley, first with the collector of customs at Norfolk, Mr Larkin Smith, and secondly with the senior American naval officer on the station, who was none other than the celebrated Stephen Decatur. It would be tedious to do more than summarize the greater part of this correspondence, much of which was conducted through the medium of Colonel Hamilton, H.M. Consul at Norfolk, but certain documents elicited by it are of such importance that I intend to quote them in full, and it is therefore necessary to say something of their background.

The Americans opened the ball on 6 January 1808, when Mr Larkin Smith demanded, through Hamilton, the release of George Fox, an alleged American subject impressed on board the *Statira* at Portsmouth (England) on 14 September 1807.³ To this Bromley replied on 9 January through the

¹ F.O. 5/52: Erskine's No. 30 to Canning, 3 December 1807, enclosing Laurie to Newton, 25 September 1807, and Madison to Erskine, 24 November 1807.

² F.O. 5/56: 27 December 1807.

³ F.O. 5/57: Larkin Smith to Hamilton, 6 January 1808.

same channel in terms which were apparently meant to be conciliatory but hardly achieved that end.¹ The gist of his letter was that, while he felt sure the application had been made in good faith and he personally was always willing to do his duty, this particular man's case was a tissue of 'impudent falsehoods' as proved by his ship's books. At the same time Bromley in his own turn took the offensive by officially demanding in a separate letter² the release of no fewer than three British subjects known to be serving in the *Chesapeake*, who were all anxious to take advantage of His Majesty's proclamation of 16 October 1807, offering a free pardon to 'all British Subjects who shall quit the service of Foreign Powers and return to their allegiance'. This brought Decatur himself (now commanding the *Chesapeake*) into action: he replied to Hamilton on 10 January³ that the three men asked for were indeed all on board his ship, but that 'they all deny having applied, or wished to be placed under the British Flag, one of them however acknowledges that he did inform you he was an Englishman, and wished to obtain his discharge from the United States' service'. The letter ends neatly with an assurance 'that I shall ask no further proof for the release of the Men in question, than such as he (*sc.* Captain Bromley) demands on our part for the release of those who may be claimed by us'.

The last sentence was clearly a reference to the case of Fox, concerning whom Larkin Smith was now rash enough to plead the principle of 'indefeasible' nationality.⁴ This of course gave Bromley, to whom the letter was as usual transmitted, an easy opening for a *coup de grâce*, for although he had always rested his case first and foremost on Fox's eager acceptance of the King's Bounty he had also pointed out that Fox had actually been born a British subject. He had therefore only to congratulate the Collector on his adoption of 'a principle universally acknowledged in Europe', which, he hoped, would similarly commend itself to all the other 'Officers Civil and Military of the United States'.⁵ Had it done so, the Americans would of course have lost the greater part of their seamen, for comparatively few of those whose nationality was in dispute were in fact American-born, and the main American case rested on the 'indefeasibility' of nationality acquired by artificial means in youth or middle life. Bromley was perfectly logical in pointing out that they could not expect to have it both ways when they

1 F.O. 5/57: first letter from Bromley to Hamilton, 9 January 1808.

2 *Ibid.*: second letter from Bromley to Hamilton, 9 January 1808.

3 *Ibid.*: Decatur to Hamilton, 10 January 1808.

4 *Ibid.*: Larkin Smith to Hamilton, 11 January 1808.

5 For a fuller discussion of 'indefeasibility' see my 'Anthony Merry and the Anglo-American Dispute about Impressment, 1803-06', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, Vol. ix, No. 3 (1949), p. 331 and n. 1, also my 'Impressment in the Monroe-Pinckney Negotiation, 1806-07', *American Historical Review*, Vol. lvii, No. 2 (January 1952), p. 357 and n. 20.

insisted that, provided that a man was not born in the United States it hardly mattered where he was born, since he could always acquire American nationality at any time, and that the only 'indefeasible' nationality, however casually acquired, was their own.

Not content with this verbal victory over Larkin Smith, Bromley went for bigger game on 17 January by addressing Decatur for the first time direct:¹ moreover he demanded the release of four more men in addition to the three asked for by Hamilton a week or so before. This elicited a specific refusal by Decatur to be bound in any way by any proclamation of King George III, though he qualified this robust piece of Americanism by promising to investigate the actual cases listed by Bromley, in spite of the fact that 'all the Men named in the postscript of your letter of the 17th Instant are not at present at this place'. There was now a pause of nearly three weeks in the correspondence, extending to 11 February 1808.

On that day Bromley reopened the controversy, again with Decatur personally, by repeating his demand for the surrender of the same seven men, together with a request of still greater significance for our present purpose, viz. one for the surrender of 'Henry Harvey a British Seaman about twenty-one Years of age marked with a scar over his left eye and a deserter from his Britannic Majesty's brig *Ferreter*'.² In addition this letter contained a general enquiry whether Decatur really intended to prevent British subjects taking advantage of His Majesty's late proclamation, and also exactly what proof of their identity he required. But the really important event is the personal appearance for the first time of Henry Harvey, one of the three deserters who subsequently revealed in detail their impressions of life on board the *Chesapeake* in 1808 and 1807.

On 16 February Decatur replied,³ admitting the presence of Harvey under his command but stating that 'he denies being a British deserter'. As regards the more general issues he ignored the question about the royal proclamation and contented himself with saying that the type of proof required would be that which 'you have informed me you shall require of us, which is full and satisfactory proof', a quotation from Bromley's own postscript of 9 January. To this Bromley replied⁴ with a much fuller and corrected description of Henry Harvey; an allegation that he was being detained by force; and a further demand for his release. He was, it appears, aged twenty-four, not twenty-one; had been born at Rye in Sussex, and had

1 F.O. 5/57: Bromley to Decatur, 17 January 1808.

2 *Ibid.*: Bromley to Decatur, 11 February 1808. Harvey, as we shall see, became a key witness on the British side.

3 *Ibid.*: Decatur to Bromley, 16 February 1808.

4 *Ibid.*: Bromley to Decatur, 18 February 1808.

held the rank of midshipman before desertion; he had now been 'about ten months in the American service'. Moreover he had been recognized as a deserter by one of Bromley's own officers and had furnished 'under his own hand a proof of his Loyalty and allegiance to Great Britain, and his full confession to corroborate these facts. . .'. This drew a comparatively brief reply from Decatur,¹ the pith of which appears to be that confession by an alleged deserter, as well as recognition by a British officer, is required, and that in Harvey's case any confession he had made had since been voluntarily withdrawn. Bromley returned a cutting answer on 27 February,² not unfairly emphasizing Decatur's inconsistencies and successive changes of position: he also added a postscript demanding the return of yet another specified deserter, viz. Jeremiah Denman of His Majesty's cutter *Zenobia*, formerly a watchmaker and painter in London. On the same day Bromley sent the entire correspondence to Erskine, asking him to note that Commodore Decatur would not allow British subjects under his control to gain the benefit of H.M.'s recent proclamation, in spite of their professed desire to do so. But Erskine was no Anthony Merry and seems to have done no more than forward copies of the papers without comment to an equally neglectful Foreign Office.

However, Bromley gave Erskine no rest. Apparently it was possible for members of the *Chesapeake*'s crew to get letters into the hands of the British consul at Norfolk, though not with any regularity. About this time one of these got through, and on 7 March Bromley had the pleasure of returning it, with an appropriate covering note, to Decatur. Unfortunately no copy seems to have been kept of the enclosure (which was anonymous) and Bromley's own description of its contents³ is brief and obscure. It is, however, possible that the incident complained of was described by him a second time for Erskine's benefit about a fortnight later.⁴ In this version of the story one of Bromley's officers was standing on the wharf at Norfolk when he was approached by a member of the *Chesapeake*'s crew who said that he was not only British but a prisoner-of-war (presumably in French hands), who had been illegally forced to join the *Chesapeake* against his will, had served in her eight months and still owed the United States Navy four months' advance pay. This man's name, real or assumed, was George Brookes, born at Liverpool, but we hear no more of him.

Three days later, however, the case of the *Zenobia* deserter suddenly crops up again. Although the names are now slightly different; John Derman or

¹ F.O. 5/57: Decatur to Bromley, 23 February 1808.

² *Ibid.*: Bromley to Decatur, 27 February 1808.

³ *Ibid.*: Bromley to Decatur, 7 March 1808.

⁴ *Ibid.*: Bromley to Erskine, 23 March 1808.

Deerman, in place of Jeremiah Denman, and from Liverpool, not London; there seems little doubt that this is the man about whom an inaccurate report had reached Bromley nearly a month earlier. The letter which he now writes in person¹ is obviously as genuine as it is self-explanatory: the opening statement too was, as we shall see very shortly, perfectly correct.

Hon'd Sir,

This is to give informations that there is to be a discharge made from Chesapeake. I want my discharge, but can't git it; I will thank your honour to do something in my behalf—so as to get me out of this. i came here in the name of John Derman—I am a British Subject born at Liverpool, deserter from Zenobia. I am kept here against my will, Englishmen here are kept badly if so be they don't deny their Country, and turn Traitors against the king's proclamation. The Commodore noes this and can't deny it. I shall be in duty bound ever to pray—

JOHN DEERMAN Chesapeake

It will be noted that nothing is here said about the *number* of Englishmen forcibly detained aboard the *Chesapeake*, while the allegation of bad treatment may be prejudiced and cannot be regarded as proven. In any case the letter failed in its object, for there is no trace of any further application for the writer's release or of any diplomatic action being taken on his behalf.

The opening statement already referred to is confirmed by Bromley himself in his covering note to Erskine.² This note will also bear quoting *in extenso*, since it shows that Decatur had finally had second thoughts about releasing at least two of the men already asked for, viz. Harvey and Elias Brown,³ not to mention four more whose names had not as yet figured in the correspondence. Among these Thomas Addison is particularly important, since he afterwards became joint author with Harvey of the first of the two lengthy and important statements about the *Chesapeake* which I quote below. Meanwhile Bromley's covering note ran as follows:

Sir,

Hen. Harvey) I have the honor to inform you that the Consul at Baltimore has forwarded the
Thos. Adison) Men named in the Margin, to H.M.S. Statira under my Command, lately
discharged from the United States Frigate the Chesapeake. They have voluntarily made the following Communications. that they in Company with John Williams, Thos. Powers, John Hay Brown, and Elias Brown, were sent to Baltimore in the Gunboat No. 5 by order of Commodore Decatur, although they had solicited to be discharged at Norfolk to join the Statira. that Lieut. Crane 1st of the Chesapeake had publicly declared to that Ship's Company, —that American protections should be given to all those Men who did not declare themselves British Subjects; and that no men were discharged from the United States Service, but those who wished it, although it is well known to the Naval Officers of the Chesapeake that there now

1 F.O. 5/57: copy of a letter received by Captain Bromley on 26 March and sent to Mr Erskine (enclosed in Bromley to Erskine, 28 March 1808).

2 *Ibid.*: Bromley to Erskine, 28 March 1808.

3 He was one of the first three men whose return had been demanded by Bromley *via* Hamilton as early as 9 January. The demand had also been repeated at least twice directly to Decatur.

remains on board their vessels at this Port two hundred of His Majesty's Subjects—that John Hay Brown, was detained now on board the said Gunboat for debt for naval Slops, and that all other Foreigners except the British were discharged on Shore at Norfolk.

I have etc. etc.

(Signed) R. H. BROMLEY

Two points in this letter which deserve some special notice are, first, Decatur's evident reluctance to confess himself in the wrong by surrendering the men at Norfolk: instead we have the rather childish device of sending them up to Baltimore. Secondly, there is for the first time the mention of a specific number of British subjects, said to be two hundred, still detained on board 'their vessels at this Port', though not in the *Chesapeake* alone. Allowing for the other vessels, this would work out at considerably less than half her crew in place of the two-thirds previously mentioned, but although it is a suspiciously large figure, and also a suspiciously round one, it will be seen below that an estimate of two hundred British subjects actually on board the *Chesapeake* herself was made about this time from a completely independent British source.

Meanwhile Rose's mission had failed and it was getting time for the *Statira* to take him home again. As early as 17 March 1808 he had occupied twenty-four pages of the file in formally breaking off his negotiation with Madison for reparations on account of H.M.S. *Leopard*'s attack upon the *Chesapeake*, while his self-justification to Canning, dated two days later, took another twenty-one pages. The second of these flatulent papers contains one interesting judgment, namely that 'a great part of this Nation is inclined to see in the various ostensible Steps taken by Great Britain . . . especially since the pretension of the Search of National Ships for Deserters has been formally disavowed in His Majesty's Speech, something nearly tantamount to an adjusted reparation; and this it does the more readily, in proportion as the extent of the provocation to the attack on their Frigate is the more generally admitted. Moreover, the public mind has long been prepared for the failure of the negotiation, and its length and delays have diminished extremely the interest at first excited, and have deadened its Sensibility on that Event . . . '.

We cannot of course take these theories absolutely *au pied de la lettre*, though it is certainly tempting to believe that the American public had by now some inkling of the misdemeanours of the *Chesapeake*'s recruiting-service, even if United States officials could not publicly admit the fact. But to believe all this without corroborative evidence would obviously be quite illogical, for how much weight can be attached to the opinions of an unsuccessful diplomat who was self-satisfied enough to claim that the sheer long-windedness and dullness of the way in which he had fulfilled his

mission had in themselves annihilated, by sheer weight of boredom, the problem which he had set out to solve? Still, such were Rose's opinions and though they may have merely been the product of an abnormally complacent imagination there is just the chance that they concealed a grain of fact. Two days later (22 March 1808) he sent Canning a confidential message to the effect that at any rate the American Secretary of the Treasury, Mr Gallatin, no longer had the slightest interest in impressment.¹

Within the next week or so the *Statira* sailed for England with Rose on board and by 25 April was approaching Land's End. Her ship's company now included two at any rate of the six men discharged by Commodore Decatur *via* Baltimore, and it may be assumed that, though they both had a free pardon under the royal proclamation of 16 October 1807, there had been a good deal of interrogation going on during the voyage. Anyhow, now that England was in sight, Henry Harvey and Thomas Addison, *being examined separately*, made remarkably full statements on their periods of service in the *Chesapeake*. These statements not only confirm each other but convey a strong suggestion that the *Chesapeake* was positively swarming with Englishmen and, according to Addison, with not a few Frenchmen as well. It is true that the total number of Englishmen actually named by each witness only came to about a dozen but there is no attempt to estimate total numbers in either case and the general impression left upon the reader is that there were very many more.² With regard to the famous incident of 22 June 1807 it is noticeable that both men insist upon the refusal of the *Leopard's* officer to remove British subjects as such; he was looking only for deserters, though, particularly if he had searched the coal-hole, he would have found many more. Of the two rascals the elder, Addison, is much the more amusing, both from the amount of dialogue which he professes to remember and from descriptive touches such as that portraying the reluctance of the British subjects who wanted to escape from the *Chesapeake* to have to do so at the cost of joining the *Statira*. But the statements must be allowed to speak for themselves:³

*Declaration of Henry Harvey and Thomas Addison late of the
United States Frigate 'Chesapeake'*

Henry Harvey, now serving on board H.M.S. *Statira* declares, that he is a Native of Rye, in Sussex, and that being an acting Midshipman on board the Ferretter Gun Brig he deserted from her on the 9th of January 1807 at North Yarmouth, went to America and entered at Norfolk for the

1 See my paper in *American Historical Review*, Vol. LVII, No. 2, p. 367.

2 This impression is fully confirmed, as we shall see, by the affidavit of a third party, William Brown, ex-boatswain of the *Chesapeake*, who had never been on board the *Statira* and gave his evidence separately in Bermuda.

3 They appear as one continuous statement towards the end of F.O. 5/57 under date 25 April 1808. Inconsistencies of spelling, punctuation, etc., have been retained.

Chesapeake, United States Frigate on the 4th April 1807; that when she was attacked by the Leopard he was in Irons under the half Deck, having twice deserted from her; that when the Lieutenant of the Leopard asked him his Country, he said he was an Englishman, but that he was not asked if he was a Deserter; that on entering he had four or five Dollars as an advance of four Months' pay in lieu of Bounty;—that Thomas Garnett, Gunner of the Chichester, Gunner's Yeoman in the Chesapeake, was hid during the action, or just as it ended, together with John Wilson Captain of the Mizen Top (not the Man alias Jenkin Radford) and John Jones Boatswain's Mate, in the Coal-hole, that John Evans a Deserter from His Majesty's Land Service is Master at arms,—that of the Melampus's Deserters John Strahan, and Daniel Martin were supposed to be British Born Subjects. The acting Boatswain owned he had formerly deserted from Captain Bromley; that John Arnold stated to be killed in the Action only lost his arm, and is now at Baltimore, and is an Englishman; that Daniel Creighton, returned as wounded, was not wounded and is an English Deserter; that Hubert and Saunders (Deserters from the Halifax Sloop of War) entered for the Chesapeake, and went to Washington, but that he knows not, what became of them; that Thomas Garnett was discharged at Norfolk, when Harvey and Addison were discharged, it is supposed in order to prevent a demand being made for him in case of their reaching the Statira and giving information respecting him; that in the action Garnett and the two other Men went to Commodore Barron, and told him their situation, as deserters, on which by his direction the American Officers stowed them away in the Coal Hole;—Commodore Decatur mustered the whole Ship's Company in February last, and told all foreigners, that they might have their discharge; he mustered them again on a Sunday and took down the names of such as desired to be discharged, some Americans, and some English, such as they were sure would not enter for the Statira, were discharged at Norfolk; he asked twice for his discharge, and requested to be discharged at Norfolk; he was told to get ready to go on board The Gunboat No. 5 to go to Baltimore; he was paid off on board the Chesapeake, but was discharged at Baltimore, whence he was sent down by H.M. Consul to the Statira. Thomas Curtis (alias Thomas Pownall in the Chesapeake) was in their first Cutter, and was also sent in No. 5 to Baltimore, and discharged; he was also an English Deserter, and from the Triumph; John I. Brown an Englishman was also sent in the Gunboat to Baltimore, but remains in her detained for debt;—when Captain Bromley's letter respecting Curtis arrived, he stepped out and acknowledged he was an English Deserter; Commodore Decatur talked to him half an hour on the Quarter Deck and then took him into the Cabbin; he knows not what passed; Elias Brown is gone to Charleston, he denies having denied his Country to Commodore Decatur; that Lieutenant Crane, First of the Chesapeake, asked him one Morning, having called him on the Quarter Deck, if he wished to go to the Statira, he denied it, but said, that he would rather go there than remain in the Chesapeake, and wished for his discharge; Lieut. Crane, said if he applied to Commodore Decatur, he would get it; if he liked to stop his two years (the term of Engagement) he should have an American Protection; he and Addison on their arrival at Baltimore went to His Majesty's Consul.

Thomas Addison, of Newcastle, serving on board H.M.S. Statira, states, that he was paid off from Le Généreux at Plymouth on the Peace; entered for the Chesapeake in March (4th) 1807, and was discharged with Henry Harvey on the 14th March 1808 from her; he confirms Harvey's statement, as to Garnett, and as to Curtis (*they being examined separately*); that Curtis, Christian Name is Thomas, not George; that on the receipt of Captain Bromley's letter demanding Thomas Kelly, Elias Brown, and himself on the 17th January last, they were sent for into the Cabbin; Brown and Kelly denied having asked for their Discharges, he owned having applied to H.M. Consul, Colonel Hamilton, for his as an Englishman; that when the Lieutenant (Faukener or Faulkner) of the Leopard mustered the Chesapeake's Crew, he answered to the question as to his Country, that he was an Englishman, and was put aside, that on this Captain Gordon stepped up to him, and asked him aside, if he had not sworn allegiance to the United States that when called into Commodore Decatur's Cabbin where there were other American Captains, he asked him how long he had been in America; he answered on and off since 1775, having frequently sailed under their Merchant Flag; Commodore Decatur then said to the other officers, 'here is a pretty fellow to call himself a British Subject after having been so long in the Country', and then asked,

how old he was, if he had ever taken the oath of allegiance to the United States, and if he was married in America; he answered 'he was forty-seven years of age; had never sworn Allegiance to the States, and was not married in America', Commodore Decatur sent for Lieut. Crane, told him not to let him go on shore, to keep a sharp Eye upon him: and to *touch* him up; these orders were immediately given to the acting Boatswain, Morgan, a Welshman, who owned it to Addison, and that he was told to keep him always to work, whilst others were idle, and to *thrash* him, if he committed any fault, when he was discharged, twelve French and sixteen English and Americans were discharged;—a fortnight before Commodore Decatur ordered all the French to come forward, they did; twelve in Number; he asked, if they wished their discharge, they said they did;—he then ordered all the English to come forward; but so many did so, that he cried out, 'only come forward such as wish to enter on board the *Statira*', the whole fell back, as if fired on by Musketry; he then ordered British Subjects to come forward, which four, Addison, Elias Brown, Harvey and an old man, only did;—Addison had applied to Colonel Hamilton for his discharge on the 23rd November last. Thomas Powers, or Pownall, Curtis, E. Brown, Conolly, Harvey, and himself were of the sixteen, in all seven, or eight. he understood none were shortly to be discharged, he heard nothing of offering Protections, if he would remain;—Curtis told that his name was not George but Thomas; he was notoriously a Deserter from the *Triumph*; McDonald died in the hospital; knows of no Arnold killed in the action; does not know Evans, and Wilson to have been stowed [?]; Garnett was discharged with Addison, and sent to Norfolk;—Addison when ordered to No. 5 said he did not want to go to Baltimore to the Lieutenant. Commodore Decatur came into the after Cabbin and asked where he wished to be landed; he said to Norfolk; Commodore Decatur said 'yes you want to go on board the *Statira*'; he was ordered by the Lieut. in the Gunboat;—when in Addison's Presence Captain Bromley's letter was read in the Cabbin before Com. Rogers and other officers stating that Captain Bromley would deliver up all proved Americans, if he Commodore Decatur would deliver up all proved English, he said, 'it is very fair, but I will not deliver up a Man, I will fight him first'.

No one would contend that every word of these statements is true, or that any errors they contain are completely inadvertent, but their very breathlessness, confusion and tendency to repetition have the ring of truth. The men who made them were obviously rogues, but they were probably no more so than the average seamen of the day, most of whom seem to have been content to seek employment anywhere on the best terms they could obtain and to put their nationalities on and off for this purpose whenever necessary, like a pair of sea-boots. In view of the unusual nature of this hitherto unprinted evidence confirmation is, however, obviously desirable; and this may be found in yet another seaman's affidavit sworn in Bermuda on 25 March 1808 at a time when H.M.S. *Statira* was still lying in Hampton Roads but was just about to sail for England, so that any collusion was impossible.

It will be remembered that both Addison and Harvey talk about the *acting* boatswain of the *Chesapeake*, described by Addison as a Welshman called Morgan. Attracted by the royal proclamation and the offer of free pardon it contained, the *original* boatswain, an Englishman called William Brown, had absconded from the *Chesapeake* towards the end of 1807 and had made his own way to New York, whence he had been found a passage by Consul-General Barclay in a British ship to the West Indies. Here he had been impressed on board H.M.S. *Bermuda* and had sworn the

following affidavit, which was immediately transmitted to the Admiralty by Vice-Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren, and by their Lordships ('for Mr Secretary Canning's information') to the Foreign Office,¹ under the date 26 April 1808.

Affidavit of William Brown

William Brown, British Seaman, maketh Oath that he was born at Poole in Dorsetshire in England, and that, being in the United States of America, he entered about the 26th April 1807, with Lieut. Lawrence of the American Navy, at the Rendezvous at New York, for the American Frigate Chesapeake, which Ship he joined about three Weeks afterwards at Alexandria in Virginia, one of the said United States. at the time of entering, he was not asked what Countryman he was. And he further maketh Oath, that he was on board the Chesapeake, in the Capacity of Boatswain, at the time of the Action between that Ship and H.M.S. Leopard, in June 1807, and that when Lt. Falcon of the Leopard came on board the Chesapeake, to take out the Deserters from the British Ships of War, employed in the Coast of America, Deponent told him, he (Deponent) was an Englishman, but was informed by Lt. Falcon, that he only intended to take the Deserters, and the Deponent farther saith, that he continued on board the Chesapeake, against his Will, until about three months past, that about a Fortnight after the Action, Deponent with other British Seamen, on board the Chesapeake, and anxious to leave her, viz. John Bradby, Edward Gill, Thomas Tool, John Watson, Alexander Brown, a Man who called himself Henrick Lewis, and John Robinson, in all about sixty of seventy (more of whose Names he does not recollect) Petitioned Commodore Decatur who had succeeded Commodore Barron in the command of the Chesapeake, for leave to quit the American service, in consequence of their apprehending a War with England; that the commodore called them aft, and told them that, as they had entered for the Chesapeake, they should not quit the service, but, if a War did take place between Great Britain and America, they should fight whether they were willing or not, and the Deponent farther saith, that after the Action, and while the Chesapeake was lying near Norfolk, he and about fourteen other British Subjects on board, sent a Letter to Col. Hamilton, the British Consul at Norfolk, stating that they were British Seamen, and desirous of quitting the American service, but he knows not whether the Letter was ever received by the Consul, and the Deponent farther saith that about three months past he read at Norfolk, His Majesty's Proclamation, recalling British Seamen from Foreign Service—when he left the Frigate Chesapeake, went round to New York, in the packet boat, called upon Col. Barclay, the British Consul there, and informed him that he came to give himself up, in consequence of the Proclamation; that Col. Barclay (who he believes wrote to Washington, respecting the other British seamen, whom he left on board the Chesapeake) desired the Deponent to ship on board a British Vessel at New York (the Catherine, Morrison Master), which he did, and came to this Island, was pressed by the Officer of the Guard from H.M.S. Bermuda, and then entered on board the said Ship.—And the Deponent farther saith, that he supposes full half the Crew of the Chesapeake, (about 200) were British Born Subjects, although many of them had American Protections, and farther this Deponent saith not.

Sworn, at the Town of St George,	} his	
in the Island of Bermuda, by the		
said Wm. Brown, this 25th day of		
March 1808, before me—		
		WILLIAM X BROWN
		Mark

Jas. Christie Eston a Minister of H.M.'s
Council, and H.M.'s Attorney-General.

It will be noted that, though there can have been no possible collusion between William Brown on the one side and Addison and Harvey on the

¹ F.O. 5/61: Barrow to Hammond, 26 April 1808. This is the covering note: the copy of the actual affidavit which originally accompanied it is filed separately at the end of F.O. 5/60, the preceding file.

other (indeed they do not even mention each other's names) their accounts agree very closely, for example in the important point that the *Leopard's* officer would take only deserters out of the *Chesapeake* and not British subjects generally. The main point of apparent difference merely stresses, to my mind, the verisimilitude of these various statements: it is that Harvey and Addison mention only a dozen or so of their compatriots (though they mention them all by name), whereas Brown mentions only seven by name (none of them mentioned by the other two), but thrice refers to larger total numbers. The first occasion is about a fortnight after the action with the *Leopard*, when he and the seven men whose names he remembers, *with other British Seamen . . . in all about sixty or seventy*,¹ ask for leave to quit the American service: this is refused. The second time is while the ship is lying at Norfolk, when he 'and about fourteen other British Subjects on board' send a letter to Colonel Hamilton. The third is his concluding supposition that 'full half the Crew of the *Chesapeake* (about 200), were British Born Subjects, although many of them had American Protections'.

These statements do not seem to me so incompatible, particularly when one remembers Rose's 'two-thirds of her Crew'; Bromley's estimate of 28 March of two hundred British subjects 'on board their vessels at this Port' (though not necessarily on board the *Chesapeake* alone); and Addison's own picture of a whole line of men swaying forward and back again, 'as if fired on by Musketry'. What would two or three illiterate² or partly-literate seamen of this period naturally say when asked, at anything from one to nine months' interval, to give their recollections of life on board the *Chesapeake*? Simple men would almost certainly try to remember the names of persons whom they had actually known, and the number of these would naturally depend on the recency of the experience: thus Harvey and Addison, who had been aboard the *Chesapeake* only six weeks earlier, remember roughly twelve names each, whereas Brown, at twice that interval, remembered seven. This is not surprising. Nor is it surprising that Brown, at greater range as it were, should have tried to estimate the total numbers of the men he did not know so well but at least knew to be British, and also knew to have shown on various occasions varying degrees of interest in escaping from the service of the United States. He may have been asked to rack his brains for such particulars while the other two were not: we do not know what questions they were severally asked, though we do know that there were at least two or three separate interrogations. For whatever reason, Addison and Harvey did not even attempt something which Brown

¹ My italics.

² Brown signs by his mark: the other two may have been literate, especially Harvey (as an acting midshipman).

did attempt, namely a general picture: they were content to give a short list of seamen whom they had known really well and to leave it at that, although Addison at least once hinted at considerably larger numbers.

We shall never know exactly how many British, or bi-national, seamen were included in the crew of the *Chesapeake*: the important thing is that the *Leopard*'s forcible removal of a handful of such men made hardly any appreciable difference to their numbers. We need not tie ourselves to the two hundred mentioned for the *Chesapeake* alone by Rose and William Brown; to the sixty or seventy mentioned by Brown alone as active on that ill-fated ship upon another occasion; or to the twelve or fourteen vouched for independently by Brown and Harvey and Addison. The exact numbers do not matter, for what is quite clear from all these accounts is that there was a small inner circle of active British malcontents; a considerably larger circle of Englishmen who could be whipped up to make a protest once in a while; and a still larger number of men who could be described as British subjects but were not prepared to advertise the fact. This at least seems reasonable, and indeed it is the only evidence which I have ever found to account for the curiously persistent belief in British naval circles that the lower deck of the U.S. Navy is, or was, largely manned by deserters from the Royal Navy. Legend, or tradition, dies hard, especially naval tradition. Meanwhile what has really emerged from this enquiry is the fact that throughout the years 1807 and 1808 the Royal Navy did have reason to believe that one American warship in particular, the *Chesapeake*, really was being used as a kind of fly-paper for picking up deserters and other wandering British seamen; and incidentally that the much-abused *Leopard* affair had done little more than scratch the surface of the problem. If that be so, the behaviour of the Royal Navy towards Americans during this period, while still indefensible at law, becomes much more comprehensible in practice, and the time-honoured American protestations of injured innocence begin to wear a little thin. Injured they may have been, but innocent they were not, and it is even possible that Rose was right for once in thinking that by March 1808 some consciousness of this fact was seeping past the stone wall of official denials into the American public mind and modifying its passionate demand for vengeance. That demand was ultimately satisfied, not by the reparation grudgingly accepted from the British three years later but by the guns of the U.S.S. *Constitution* at the expense of H.M.S. *Little Belt*. And the surprising thing is how little we hear during that long interval, after all the pother which had preceded it, about the wrongs inflicted on the United States by the British practice of impressment.

[The author of the foregoing article is Principal of University College, Cardiff. Ed. M.M.]

SHIPBUILDING IN SOUTHERN ASIA PORTS, 1800—1820

By William Kirk

IN accounts of Indian Ocean sea-trade attention is usually focused on those fleets of European sailing ships which entered the ocean from without, carried on a regulated commerce with authorized ports and then left Indian waters for their respective home stations on the Atlantic seaboard. Much has been written on the merits and voyages of East Indiamen and China clippers; far less on those vessels based on, and largely built in the ports of the Indian Ocean itself. Yet these played a most important part in the development of trade and sea-power within the region. In the pre-railway age, when land transport was slow and primitive, they were largely instrumental in the assembly of cargoes at the major ports prior to the arrival of the regular fleets, and afterwards in the distribution of imported commodities along the extensive coastline. In so doing they were able also to maintain contact among the chief centres of European political interest at a time when means of intercommunication were very limited and news always came late. Moreover, shipbuilding and participation in the 'country trade' provided a much needed outlet for capital accumulated by Company factors in foreign stations, when overseas trade was hedged about by so many monopolistic practices. In addition 'country built' ships, particularly of the Bombay Marine, did valuable work in carrying out primary coastal surveys and policing the seas when the Navy was otherwise engaged. They were a motley armada, ranging from craft of varied design that had been built on the coasts of S. Asia from times immemorial to stout European-type vessels produced in the shipyards of major Company ports. During the first decades of the nineteenth century vessels of the latter type were constructed in considerable numbers at Bombay, Daman, Cochin, Coringa (Madras), Calcutta, Chittagong and Rangoon partly to combat the dearth of European ships due to the French wars, partly to satisfy increased demands for shipping resulting from growing trade and the relaxation of the East India Company's monopoly, and partly to take advantage of the economic opportunities offered by S. Asia as a locus for shipbuilding. Indeed until the coming of the steamship threw the balance once more in favour of Europe the nascent industry of shipbuilding seemed destined to become an established and important aspect of port economy in this region, and in fact was so during the period 1800—20.^{1*}

* See p. 274 for references.

At Bombay shipbuilding, of European-type vessels, began in 1735 when work was transferred from the old shipyards of Surat, and Lowjee Nas-saranjee Wadia, Parsi foreman of the Surat yard came to settle in the growing island city. His family supplied a succession of master builders at the dockyards in the south-east of the island that spanned the eighteenth and a large part of the nineteenth centuries, and during their reign many fine ships were turned out not only for the Bombay Marine but the Royal Navy also. Excellently situated in relation to the forests of Malabar and Gujarat so that 'she receives supplies of timber with every wind that blows', provided with skilled labour and a ready market, and actively engaged in commercial and political enterprises in the Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf, Bombay became the chief centre of the industry until the latter part of the eighteenth century. From 1780, however, Bengal entered the field, largely as a result of Hyder Ali's invasion of the Carnatic and threats of famine there which necessitated the transport of grain from Bengal. At first various shipbuilding centres were tried but within a short time the bulk of the industry concentrated on the Hooghly near Calcutta, with a subsidiary location at Chittagong, and by the turn of the century their combined production had overtaken that of Bombay. The first regular Calcutta-built ship was the *Nonsuch* of 483 measurement tons, designed for the dual role of warship and peace-time trader, and launched in 1781, and from then until the end of the century 22 ships with a total tonnage of 12,776 left the stocks along the banks of the Hooghly. In 1790 the East India Company built the first dry dock, at Bankshall, for their pilot vessels, badly needed in the tortuous channels of the river below Calcutta. This had fallen into disuse and had been filled up by 1808, but by that time further docks had appeared on the western bank opposite Calcutta, and in the Kidderpore area south of Fort William. The Kidderpore Dock was built in 1803 by a Mr A. Waddell but soon afterwards became the property of Messrs J. and R. Kyd, master builders to the Company, while the two docks at Sulkea (1796 and 1801) and the two at Howrah (1801 and 1808) were also privately constructed. With this growing competition from the richest province of British India, Bombay concentrated on producing a limited number of vessels of the very highest quality and considerable dimensions. Thus, during the period under review Bombay dockyards averaged 1–2 major launchings a year, usually of ships over 500 tons and in six of the 21 years produced merchantmen of over 1200 tons, e.g. in 1809 the *Bombay* (1246 tons); 1810 the *Charles Grant* (1200 tons); 1813 the *Herifordshire* (1342 tons); 1815 the *Earl of Balcarres* (1417 tons) and 1819 the *Buckinghamshire*, a China ship of 1369 tons, all for service with the Hon. Company.

From the Calcutta yards on the other hand a great variety of smaller ships were produced, including ketches of about 40 tons, cutters of 60–120 tons,

schooners of 60-200 tons (at about 90), and two-masted brigs of 60-250 tons, in addition to the usual trader of about 500 tons and occasional giants such as the *Hastings*, a 74-gun man-of-war of over 1700 tons which was launched in January 1818, sent to England and subsequently entered His Majesty's Service. The following table gives details of the vessels launched at Calcutta and Chittagong during the period 1800-20, excluding pilot vessels. In each case column (3) gives the tonnage of the smallest and largest vessel launched each year.

Year	Calcutta			Chittagong		
	No. of vessels (1)	Total tonnage (2)	Smallest-largest vessel (3)	No. of vessels (1)	Total tonnage (2)	Smallest-largest vessel (3)
1800	5	2,038	210-770	2	600	250-350
1801	18	9,679	178-1445	—	—	—
1802	15	6,013	200-680	1	550	550
1803	7	2,889	275-574	6	1,720	40-450
1804	15	5,111	125-500	—	—	—
1805	10	4,165	140-800	1	270	270
1806	7	3,468	150-1236	1	137	137
1807	6	2,690	110-790	1	150	150
1808	3	1,297	156-655	4	787	127-300
1809	3	1,626	86-990	3	937	210-450
1810	4	2,507	125-895	6	1,765	95-500
1811	11	5,778	180-1118	2	758	371-387
1812	15	7,357	40-1279	6	1,936	80-660
1813	18	8,640	90-1272	4	1,175	125-466
1814	9	4,965	400-790	5	1,767	125-610
1815	14	6,074	70-685	10	3,440	146-694
1816	18	8,463	60-733	5	2,038	50-695
1817	10	3,803	60-639	7	3,053	140-650
1818	12	6,736	108-1732	8	2,418	60-702
1819	8	3,162	186-592	4	1,079	67-440
1820	10	3,853	150-800	1	232	232
Total	218	100,314	40-1732	77	24,812	40-702

It will be noticed that at Calcutta there were two production peaks, the first in the early years of the century, and the second, shared also by Chittagong, in the period before and after 1815. These two periods coincide with critical periods in the wars of the Napoleonic era, the first culminating in the Peace of Amiens in 1802, the second with the general peace of 1815. Some indication of the shipping replacement requirements, arising from the French wars, may be obtained by realizing that of the vessels built at Calcutta and Chittagong as shown in this table, some 30 were lost by enemy action, in addition to the extremely high incidence of loss by the natural hazards of the sea. In European waters the rate of loss was much higher and European shipyards were fully committed in replacing home

fleets. Labour and materials were in short supply and prices rose considerably as we shall see. Contributory to the second peak of production at Calcutta, however, was the general relaxation of the East India Company monopoly from 1813, and the resultant sharp increase in private trade. This carried over into the years immediately following the general peace when the hitherto blockaded markets of Europe were opened again for eastern goods, but the post-war boom in shipping was short lived and by the end of 1821 only two ships of 500 and 400 tons were on the stocks in the Hooghly yards and none at Chittagong. Total production at these two ports can be compared with that of Daman (22 vessels—9865 tons—150-850 tons), of Cochin (23 vessels—9004 tons—130-810 tons), of Coringa (14 vessels—3370 tons—105-370 tons), of Beypore (4 vessels—1599 tons—360-450 tons), of Rangoon (97 vessels—29,903 tons—40-1050 tons), and of Penang (3 vessels—2123 tons—300-1321 tons).

Although political circumstances influenced the migration of shipbuilding from European to S. Asian ports this was in the main an economic phenomenon due to price differences in the two locations. During the latter part of the eighteenth century building costs of ships for Indian service increased appreciably on the Thames, from £12. 16s. per ton in 1789 to £19. 10s. per ton in 1800, for a ship of 800 tons burthen, and this jumped quickly in the early years of the nineteenth century to £21. 15s. 6d. per ton in 1801, and £35 per ton in 1802. Milburn (*Oriental Commerce*, Vol. II, p. 176) gives the following details of the cost of building and fitting out ships of 800 and 1200 tons for eastern trade in 1810:

Items	Ship of 800 tons	Ship of 1200 tons
	£	£
Building, with interest of money advanced to builders	22,390	33,585
Coppering*	3,121	3,914
Mast-maker	2,620	3,909
Rope-maker	4,068	5,888
Sail-maker	2,400	3,000
Blocks, Boats, Anchors, Cooperage and Kentledge†	2,468	3,373
Gunpowder and Shot	1,398	1,626
Provisions and Stores	5,709	6,913
Owner's, Commander's and Overseers' Disbursements	1,586	1,917
Total	£45,760	£64,125

* Coppering of hulls had been introduced about 1780, and although it was an expensive item, some of the larger Indiamen requiring over 30 tons of copper, nevertheless it prolonged the normal life of a Company ship from four to six voyages, i.e. from 8-10 to 12-14 years.

† Kentledge: pigs of iron for ballast laid on the floor of a ship. A very necessary item for Indiamen on the outward passage.

These figures entail an over-all cost per ton of £57. 4s. for the 800 ton ship and £53. 8s. 6d. for the 1200 ton vessel, while the building of their

respective hulls cost £32 and £31 per ton.' The economic advantages of building the larger vessel are plainly seen, for not only was its earning power much greater than the ratio 12:8 would seem to suggest, but its running costs, crew wages, etc. were not much in excess of those of the 800-ton ship. Thus the tendency in the Thames yards was to concentrate increasingly on the large East Indiaman, in the 1780's of slightly under 1000 tons, in the 1790's of 1000-1200 tons, and in the period under review of 1200-1300 tons, leaving the vessels of smaller tonnage (*c.* 400-500 tons) to be chartered by the Company from private owners, as 'extra ships'.

Rising costs and specialization in Britain put construction of ships at overseas possessions in a new light. The advantages which Britain had possessed in availability of timber, ancillary metals such as copper, iron and lead, ships' stores, and skilled shipwrights no longer outweighed costs in S. Asia. True, many necessary raw materials had still to be imported from Europe, for example at Calcutta during 1817-18 the Company imported some 1100 tons of copper, including nests of copper bottoms, copper sheets, nails and bolts, and about 1000 tons of iron, mainly Swedish iron bars, while private traders brought 660 tons of copper sheet, 82 tons of copper nails, 1250 tons of copper, and over 5000 tons of iron into the ports of Bengal. Copper was very expensive, being sold in Calcutta at an average of 35 Sicca Rs. per Factory maund (*i.e.* about 1s. a lb.), iron rather cheaper at 10s. a Factory maund (*i.e.* 1s. for 7½ lb.). Also ships' stores needed at the dockyards figure prominently in bills of lading of European ships bound for S. Asian ports during this period. Private traders alone brought on average £15,000 worth of marine stores a year to the Hooghly during the years 1813-18. Nevertheless, of the primary raw material, timber, S. Asia had abundant supplies. Teak, the finest and most durable shipbuilding timber of all, was to be had in great quantity from the moist, mixed deciduous forests of Western India, Lower Burma, and Northern Java, and was used for inner and outer planking, gun-carriages, and mast pieces, while for frame timbers and breast hooks many other excellent woods were available, such as 'sal' found in many districts of Northern and Central India.²

From the hilly districts south of the north coastal plain of Java teak timber was brought down by river to many small ports of the northern coast but export was hampered by Dutch trading monopoly except for the short period 1811-15 of British administration under Raffles. Following the restoration of the island to the Dutch the price of teak timber doubled and the promising trade to Bengal which had developed during the previous four years was severely curtailed, *e.g.* by 1821 only £36 worth of Java timber reached Calcutta. The bulk of the teak used in the Bengal shipyards came from Lower Burma and during 1801-21 some 349 vessels of about

106,000 tons entered the Hooghly with full cargoes of teak from that region. Many of these vessels had been built in Rangoon and combined the carriage of timber with the necessity of going to Calcutta to be coppered. 'Pegu planks' were therefore relatively cheap in Bengal, usually about £7. 10s. a hundred, and this allied to the low cost of 'sal' and 'sissoo' timber brought from Nepal, Bhutan, and Central India kept building costs down on the Hooghly in spite of items from Europe such as sheathing nails at 6d. a lb., tar at £1. 16s. a barrel, canvas at £3 per bolt and rope at £3. 10s. per cwt. Furthermore, labour was comparatively cheap, a foreman joiner receiving only 24s. a month, painters 14s. a month, and sawyers about 36s. a month, and as labour and teak plank were the main components in total ship cost the importance of these low figures may be realized. The *Emma* for example, of 430 tons, launched in January 1814 cost approximately £12,380 of which the main items were: teak plank, £2147; labour, £2134; 'sal' timber, £1262; iron work, £1204; masts and boats, £1142; rigging, £933; and copper, £846. Her cost per ton of £28. 16s. was slightly above average (£27) for the period 1811–16, and well above the average of £18 per ton for vessels of 400 tons at Calcutta in 1802. Towards the close of the period under consideration costs decreased again, the *Crown* (400 tons) costing £20 per ton in 1818, the *Lotus* (500 tons) £23 per ton in 1819, and the *William Money* (800 tons) £20 a ton in 1820. Thus even at the most expensive times Calcutta could produce medium-sized ships of good and lasting quality at half the price current in British shipyards. In the case of larger vessels, however, the advantage was not so marked. The 1732-ton *Hastings* cost £64 a ton, but this was a special job involving new ideas in ship design and paid for by public subscription, and the normal cost per ton of 900–1200-ton ships was very much the same as on the Thames. For example the *General Kyd* of 1200 tons launched by Messrs Kyd and Co. in 1813 cost £56 per ton, but it is interesting to note that when this ship, which was built for the China trade, went aground in the Straits of Malacca in September 1821 and remained so for eight days it was the opinion of those aboard that 'had she not been a "country built" ship she would have gone to pieces the first night'.

If Burma teak was cheap at Calcutta, it was still cheaper at the river ports of Lower Burma, as the usual freight for timber from Rangoon to Calcutta was assessed at half the wholesale price it realized in the Hooghly, with the result that many Bengal merchants placed orders for ships at Rangoon. The shipyards of Burma had a long tradition behind them. From early times the Burmese themselves had built fine river and coastal craft, and in the sixteenth century the Portuguese cultivated good relations with Pegu to prevent supplies of teak going to the Arabs, but there was little European

shipbuilding until naval conflict between the European powers necessitated the development of repair stations in Indian waters. In 1689 Madras sent her first ship, the frigate *Diamond*, to Syriam for repairs instead of to Vizagapatam as usual, thus emulating the French who had begun the practice in the previous year. British and French dockyards thus grew side by side at their respective factories at Syriam, and the Hon. Company representative was instructed to build vessels, particularly 40–50 ton brigantines, whenever supplies made this possible.³ Difficulties were encountered, however, in establishing regular trade with Prome, the teak market for the important forests on the western slopes of the Pegu Yomas, and in the usual manner the Company factors looked round for other centres less dominated by the unpredictable commercial policies of native authorities. While the British were engaged upon abortive attempts to establish a shipbuilding base at Negrais and eventually in despair broke off official relations with Burma in 1760, the French, acting on the advice of Dupleix, were consolidating their position at Syriam, where under the able supervision of men such as La Noë and Pruel the French dockyard produced many ships of varied type for Pondicherry. But the French, too, found that it was almost impossible to maintain steady production in the frustrating political environment of Burma, and the dockyard closed in 1780 never to reopen, although a number of their nationals stayed on to build ships privately. In spite of the termination of official relations availability of Burmese teak continued to have important influences on sea-power in the Bay of Bengal during Anglo-French naval conflict of the late eighteenth century, and in 1795 Britain reopened negotiations with the Burmese court at Ava. Colonel Syme's *Account of the Embassy to Ava* (Vol. II, p. 130) includes the statement that 'In 1795 there were several ships from 600 to 1000 tons burden on the stocks (of the Rangoon River); one belonging to the Yayoon of Pegue, about 900 tons, was considered by professional men as a specimen of excellent workmanship; she was entirely built by Burman carpenters, and formed on a French model, as are most of the ships built in that river, the Burmans having received their first rudiments of the art from that nation. Three or four vessels of Burden were likewise in a state of forwardness belonging to English adventurers.' Captain Hiram Cox who two years later was appointed Resident at Rangoon by the Governor-General of India, also drew attention to the potentialities of the Rangoon River as a shipbuilding centre, extolling the value of teak, but remarking that of recent years certain malpractices such as using inferior green timber had been introduced by several inexperienced private builders aiming at cheapness and speed of construction. He estimated, however, that a well-built European-type vessel would cost only £12–£13 a ton compared with

prices then current at Cochin of £13–£14, at Surat of £14–15, at Calcutta of £16–£17 and at Bombay of £19–£20, and stated that if the timber trade were made more efficient by establishing British timber mills in Burma, Rangoon would be able to provide Calcutta with teak at a cost that would bring constructional costs there down to less than £15 a ton for 800-ton vessels. This impression was justified by later events, for production at Rangoon increased greatly during the first two decades of the nineteenth century, and until expansionist aims of the Ava court brought Burma into conflict with the British on the Indo-Burmese frontier and led to the First Burma War of 1824–6, a most successful complementary economic relationship was established between Bengal capital and Burmese raw material.⁴

Throughout the period 1800–20 costs were somewhat higher at Bombay than elsewhere in S. Asia. Although drawing some of her supplies of timber from Burma, freight on this was comparatively high, and in the main her teak came from Malabar where the Company usually placed large contracts at Calicut and the Resident at Cochin. In 1799 for example some 10,000 teak trees were brought down the Beypore River from the forests on the lower slopes of the Western Ghats, representing the produce of several years, but this one small catchment region alone was capable of a normal annual production of 2000–3000 trees. Saw-mills were established at many of the small, river-mouth, ports along the coast and cargoes of Malabar teak in plank or dressed timber were taken in the winter season to Bombay by hundreds of small coastal craft. In 1798 timbers of the first quality from Calicut cost 42s. per covit (18") and teak plant 3½d. a foot, in 1816 40s. and 5d., and in 1820 46s. and 10d. respectively. Labour costs at Bombay were, however, higher than at Calcutta. The following itemized costs were incurred in building the *Thomas Grenville* (886 tons) and the *Charles Grant* (1200 tons) in 1809–10 for the East India Company:

	<i>Thomas Grenville</i>			<i>Charles Grant</i>		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
(a) Hull: timber, iron work, etc.	23,199	0	0	28,050	0	0
Copper	3,617	2	6	4,327	0	0
	26,816	2	6	32,377	0	0
(b) Masts and yards	2,060	0	0	2,810	12	0
(c) Fitting for Sea:						
Rigging, cables, etc.	4,827	12	6	4,728	18	0
Sails	1,761	15	0	1,355	0	0
Iron ballast	1,600	0	0	1,333	0	0
Anchors and grapnels	588	5	0	803	0	0
Blocks	476	0	0	461	0	0
Ships chandlery	600	5	0	815	0	0
Sundry stores	1,035	17	6	1,676	2	0
Total	£39,735	17	6	£46,360	12	0

These figures entail over-all costs per ton of £44. 16s. for the 886-ton vessel and £38. 12s. for that of 1200 tons thereby demonstrating economies possible in building larger ships similar to those we have noted on the Thames, but at price levels £13. 15s. a ton lower than on that river.

Thus it was that both political and economic circumstances favoured the rise of a flourishing if temporary shipbuilding industry in various ports of S. Asia during the early part of the nineteenth century. Of the European-type vessels built during this period many were captured by the French and their allies and ended their days under Arab masters or as hulks at Mauritius (e.g. the *Countess of Sutherland*), at least a dozen fell victim to fire, over 100 were lost at sea and in coastal waters, some were sold to Arab, British, Portuguese, Danish and S. American ports, but most of those remaining afloat in Indian waters went to swell the merchant fleets of Bombay and Calcutta. To Calcutta belonged 158 ships in 1821, and of these 77 were Calcutta built, 31 from Chittagong, 10 from Fort Gloster, 9 from Rangoon, 6 from Cochin, 4 from Java, 3 each from Daman and Coringa, 2 each from Bombay, England and America, and single vessels from Beypore, Ennore, Narsapore, Alleppey, France and Brazil. Their total tonnage was about 60,000, and they were manned by 1284 Europeans and 6316 natives of India. In the same year the merchant fleet of Bombay comprised 41 vessels of 19,831 tons, 9 of which were built at Daman, 7 each at Bombay and Cochin, 4 in Bengal, 2 each at Beypore, Surat and Batavia, and single vessels in England, Coringa, Diu, Manilla, Alleppey, and Quilon. It must be noted, however, that at the same time the Bombay Marine of 13 vessels, mostly home produced, was based there also, and that Bombay was then, as now, a great centre for native craft of all descriptions. At Madras the port fleet, which had contained 48 merchant ships in 1805, had only two or three small vessels in 1821, while at Penang were based 27 vessels ranging from 35–285 tons and totalling 3759 tons used in trading along the Malay coasts. Penang, however, never fulfilled the hopes entertained by the East India Company at its foundation, that it would become a major naval dock-yard and refitting station, and at this time was being rapidly outstripped by Singapore.⁵

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

¹ Statistics for this period are to be found in John Phipps, *A Guide to the Commerce of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1823). Phipps was head clerk to the Master Attendant's Office of the Bengal Marine Establishment in 1821 and had access to official figures of production not only in Calcutta but other East India Company stations. Section II of the *Guide* is mainly concerned with shipping, and this theme he developed later in *A Collection of Papers relative to Shipbuilding in India* (Calcutta, 1840). Also see William Milburn, *Oriental Commerce, containing a geographical description of the principal places in the E. Indies with their produce, manufactures and trade*, 2 vols. (London, 1813), which contains 12 maps and charts, and appeared in an abridged edition edited

by Thomas Thornton in 1825; Radhakumud Mookerji, *Indian Shipping* (Bombay, 1912); and references to construction of East Indiamen in C. N. Parkinson, *Trade in the Eastern Seas 1793—1813* (Cambridge, 1937).

2 See H. G. Champion *A Preliminary Survey of the Forest Types of India and Burma*, Indian Forest Records Vol. 1, Silviculture No. 1 (Delhi, 1936); J. D. Hamilton, *Teak bearing rocks*, Ind. For. 1930, pp. 147—56; L. D. Stamp, *The Vegetation of Burma from an ecological standpoint* (Calcutta, 1925); and notes on teak in T. S. Raffles, *The History of Java*, 2 vols. (London, 1817); and J. Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, 3 vols. (London, 1820).

3 See D. G. E. Hall, *Europe and Burma. A Study of European relations with Burma to the Annexation of Thibaw's Kingdom 1886*, chap. viii (London, 1945).

4 For accounts of Lower Burma, Rangoon and ship-building at this time see Father Sangermano, *A Description of the Burmese Empire* (Rome, 1833), but reprinted in English translation by William Tany (Rangoon, 1885); Michael Symes, *An Account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava*, 2 vols. (London, 1800); Capt. Hiram Cox, *Journal of a Residence in the Burman Empire* (London, 1821), although most of the details concerning shipbuilding are to be found in Major W. Francklin's, *Tracts, Political Geographical and Commercial on the Dominions of Ava* (London, 1811), based on a study of Cox's official papers, at the suggestion of Wellesley.

5 Sir Home Popham, *A description of Prince of Wales Island in the Straits of Malacca—with its real and probable advantages and sources to recommend it as a marine establishment* (London, 1805).

[The author of the foregoing article is Lecturer in Geography in the University of Aberdeen. Ed. M.M.]

'GREAT ENGLAND'S GLORY'

E. M. TENISON'S *Elizabethan England: Being the History of this Country 'In relation to all Foreign Princes'*, vol. x

By Richard C. Fraser

NO one is more quickly laid low than he who has no fear; and a sense of security is the most common cause of disaster. These are not the words of a fighting man but of the Regius Professor at Oxford, who in 1588 dedicated his *De Jure Belli* to the Earl of Essex, acclaiming him as "a thunderbolt of war", and ten years later as "in the affairs of the Kingdom most wise". Warnings against a false security were less needed then than now. The main reason for the survival of England as an independent state was that Queen Elizabeth's Councillors and Generals never made the mistake of underrating the adversary, either before or after 1588.'

Thus opens the Introduction to Vol. x of a work the previous volumes of which are well known to members of the Society for Nautical Research, it being written and issued by one of themselves, and available in the library of the National Maritime Museum.

In the spring of 1932 Professor Callender announced that some of the documents about to appear in the new Elizabethan history would herald important changes in our current historical text-books. This observation is now amplified in 'An Open Letter' touching on various differences between this History and those on which we have all been educated: for example,

(1) The revelation of Lord Burghley as our ablest war-minister pursuing a consistent policy throughout his forty consecutive years of office under Elizabeth Regina. Far from being (as we were told in 1898) 'the despair of the men of action' he was often their intercessor with the Queen when she was making difficulties about 'charges'. And it was he who so early as 1581 wished Drake commissioned to command in 'a very great and royal' enterprise on behalf of 'King Don Antonio who hath a just war against the King of Spain'.

(2) The clearing of Drake from the stigma of 'piracy'.

(3) The discovery that Burghley and Essex were in close accord, and that Essex was actually Burghley's instrument and pupil. 'God's blessing upon your Lordship to be a scourge to the Spaniards', he wrote in 1597; but this benediction remained unknown because omitted from the Calendar version of that letter.

The system of direct evidence on both and on all sides is described by Mr L. Graham Horton-Smith, in 'An Open Letter' pointing out how the Tenison method enables us to know more than any one individual knew at the time; and also helps us to understand opponents who did not always understand each other. He appreciated from the first the human, religious and political drama of England 'In Relation to all Foreign Princes'. This phrase is taken from the words of Fulke Greville, who had intended to write a history of his own times, had he not been refused access to the Council Chest in James I's day. This was the penalty for proclaiming that 'a historian's duty is to tell nothing but the truth'. That Greville's truths would not have been officially acceptable we may infer from his scorn of men 'in their soft chairs at home, playing fast and loose with those that venture their lives abroad'; constituting themselves 'judges of danger which they fear and honour which they understand not'.

As Mr Horton-Smith emphasized, our Calendars of State Papers Foreign have not extended beyond the end of 1588: but one of the conspicuous features of the Tenison Vols. VIII, IX and X is that the uncalendared documents are used. Of copies and drafts of Queen Elizabeth's letters, some affect vital issues.¹

Essex's stepfather, Sir Christopher Blount, wrote from Cadiz to Penelope Lady Rich, a narrative which has long lain unpublished. After describing the voyage, the sea fight in the Bay, and the landing, he adds that Essex 'being of my faith the first man that put his foot on land, gave such hope of victory to our people that happy he had thought himself that might first haste on shore and come to take part in your brother's hazard.' Relating the capture of the city, he concludes, 'Your brother, by the great blessing of God afforded to his Army, became a victor over the King of Spain's Navy, at sea, over a town, and a whole Island, within sixteen hours; . . .'²

If this be thought partial, no such bias can be ascribed to the Lord High Admiral, who opposed Essex's plan to remain in Cadiz and hold it (as we now hold Gibraltar). He had previously been offended that Essex was to be given sole command ashore. Of this he had complained bitterly to Sir Robert Cecil. But during and immediately after the battle the more generous side of his nature reasserted itself. It seems that only the first half of his letter had been printed before, though the end (as follows) is the most important:

'About two of the clock in the afternoon the Earl landed at the fort of Puntal.' Details follow of the march inland and the fighting. Then 'the Earl

¹ Especially Vol. IX (1950), pp. 269-74.

² Original Lambeth (Tenison) MS. 658, etc. *E.E.*, Vol. x, pp. 81-2.

entered the city wonderful bravely. . . . After the entry the fight grew very hot in the market place, streets, forts and Castle. And in truth every house is like a castle. By this time I came in with my shot and relieved the Earl with powder, which he stood in need of. Then the Earl made a strong guard in the market place; and by this time it grew somewhat dark.

'Then the Earl, myself, and the rest of the principal Captains went into the Council House which was seated in the market place. And by the time we had been there an hour there came in many of the principal and chiefest ones of the city, and yielded themselves unto us. . . .' Then comes an emphatic testimony, also now first published: ' . . . My Lord, I assure you there is not a braver man than the Earl is, and I protest in my poor judgement a great soldier, for what he doth is in great order and discipline performed.'¹

This Vol. x begins on 31 May 1596 and brings us to the deaths of Lord Burghley and King Philip II, in August and September 1598; and next shows Sir Robert Cecil, Essex, Francis Bacon, and Sir Edward Coke, together examining into the last of the foreign impelled conspiracies against Queen Elizabeth, concerning which many hitherto unknown details appear.

No attentive reader can fail to observe the dexterity with which the author disposes of one fabrication after another; pointing out how much misunderstanding has arisen from hasty epitomes or from sentences half-quoted. For example, Rowland Whyte wrote privately to Sir Robert Sidney, Governor of Flushing, some Court gossip concerning which he added he hoped there was 'no such thing' as the scandal alleged, and that it was 'only the malice of the wicked world in which we live'. By dropping out those concluding words, and hitherto giving the scandal as if from Whyte's evidence, Essex's character has been trivialized and degraded. References in 1898 to his alleged 'levity of purpose', and to his sea services as alternating with intervals in the arms of 'Miss Bridges', are answered by showing that it was a different courtier (Charles Lister) whom 'fair Bridges' dragged at her chariot wheels; and that Essex was afloat as admiral-general in his flagship at a time when in the nineteenth century he was imagined as occupied in pursuing maids of honour. He had protested in 1596 against 'false and unjust tales', and wrote of his ill-willers in 1597, 'What they cannot make probable to the Queen that they give out to the world.' The portraits of Essex, far from suggesting 'levity' are in keeping with his

¹ Harl. 167, ff. 109-12. Abbreviated from *E.E.*, Vol. x, pp. 60-2, the author adds (note 3): 'Here at last is an effectual reply to Dr Abbot who in his *Bacon and Essex* (1877) alleged that though Essex might have made a good colonel of a regiment he was unsuited to command large numbers of men. . . .'

strenuous writings defining in unequivocal language his patriotic purposes in 1596, 1597 and 1598.

The paintings, maps, facsimiles, documents, title-pages, etc., in this Vol. x equal those which have already appeared in Vols. I-IX. The Duke of Northumberland's portrait of Essex, his ancestor's brother-in-law, is now published for the first time. The face and expression are anxious, grave, and earnest.

The only action of Essex in 1598 in regard to a maid of honour was nothing to do with 'fair Bridges'. It was his sending his secretary Henry Cuffe to pursue the Earl of Southampton, and bring him back to London, so that his marriage with Elizabeth Vernon could be celebrated *sub rosa* at Essex House. Essex had knighted Southampton the previous year for conspicuous gallantry during the Azorean expedition; and in 1598 he challengingly declared that when he was a friend he went with his friend 'as far as any bond of honour, nature or reason could tie a man'. *Basis virtutum constantia* was his motto. That his steadfastness has been twisted in certain recent impressionist renderings into a tendency selfishly to push worthless persons forward at the Court to make Elizabeth a 'puppet Queen' is one of the fantasies which vanish on reading this volume. The outstanding events are (1) the invasion of Spain in 1596, the successful capture of Cadiz; and the manner in which some of the fruits of victory were partly lost through the opposition of the Council of War. (2) In 1597 'the Islands Voyage' to avert another projected invasion of England. King Philip's 'new book of preparations' somehow came into the hands of Sir Edward Norris, and it was this which convinced the Queen of the need for England again to take the initiative, instead of (as Burghley expressed it) 'sitting down to await the King of Spain's Conquests'.

About 1925 Professor Callender deplored that neither in English nor Spanish did there exist in print any adequate rendering of that expedition. But now we have it in detail, both from the English and Spanish despatches, for the unpublished Spanish official letters have been translated. It emerges clearly that the weather which caused dismay among our own seamen and soldiers, 'the vehementest wind' Sir George Carew had ever experienced,¹ was also disastrous to the Spaniards. Not by lack of valour on either side, but, as Raleigh pointed out, by conditions beyond the power of man to overcome, the primary intentions of both fleets were baffled.

Those of us who appreciated the manifold labours of Sir Geoffrey Callender will be interested to see that he annotated one of the despatches signed by Essex and the other flag officers in 1597. Essex concludes, on behalf of himself and his colleagues, 'We hope her Majesty will think our

¹ Carew's unpublished Journal, *E.E.*, Vol. x, pp. 232-4.

painful days, careful nights, evil diet, and many hazards, deserve not now to be measured by the event. The like honourable and just construction we promise ourselves at the hands of all my Lords [of the Council]. As for others that have sat warm at home, and do now discant upon us, we know they lacked strength to perform more, and believe they lack courage to adventure so much.'

This is signed by Essex, Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Mountjoy, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, Anthony Shirley and Sir Christopher Blount.¹

One of many current confusions cleared away is about what Raleigh called 'the difficult landing of our English at Fayal'. In this connexion we are given not only Raleigh's own description, retrospectively written in the Tower, but what Spanish officers wrote at the time about 'Gualterrol' as they called him. The clash over the landing at Fayal has usually been described in our day without any reference to the reconciliation attested by both Sir Arthur Georges and Sir Francis Vere. Until now no historian seems to have quoted how Raleigh subsequently declared that Essex had still as much renown as ever in Spain and Italy, and was 'for an enemy the most honoured man in Europe'. This has been in print for over half a century, but ignored.

Perhaps of all the significant and unfamiliar matter in this Vol. x the most striking is the section headed 'To sing us asleep with the name of Peace', embodying Essex's warning against embarking on a treaty such as would entail the loss of everything the men of action had laboured to win for the crown and country. Accused of specially favouring seamen and soldiers, Essex replied, 'I do entirely love them'; and took the opportunity to express one of the most eloquent tributes ever uttered by a commander in appreciation of those he had commanded.

This which is one of the most vital documents on policy and defence in the Elizabethan era, was listed by Mrs Everett Green in the Calendar in only a few neutral lines.

Said Essex in conclusion, 'Let any man show me how we shall have an honourable, safe, and durable peace, and I will embrace it and him with both mine arms.' Until then, though peace is preferable to war, yet 'Just is war to whom war is necessary, and arms are righteous to those for whom there is no hope but in arms.'

We are shown that the tale of Lord Burghley in Council having called Essex 'a man of blood who would not live out half his days' was invented after both these eminent Privy Councillors were in the next world, and after

¹ Copy, *op. cit.* p. 266.

Burghley's strong foreign policy had been reversed, to the detriment of our country's safety and renown.

There remains no space to quote the hitherto unpublished despatches to and from the Vice-Admiral de 'Bretendona' (whose descendants now spell the name Bertodano). His letter to King Philip describing Grenville's last fight was one of the new features in Vol. VIII.

In Vol. x we see again how exponents of the old *buena guerra* considered courtesy as important as courage. The instructions of Queen Elizabeth, that women, children, the aged, and places of worship were not to be injured, were a repetition of the older English Laws and Ordinances of War. A modern fallacy that the Elizabethan army was composed of 'scum and gaolbirds' and was 'seething with mutiny and desertion' and that the great deeds were done by a rabble of pressed men, cannot survive a reading of these volumes.

The discipline of our army at Cadiz evoked the admiration even of King Philip. Essex's eulogy of the 'men of action' printed posthumously in 1603, has been too long ignored and the honour of the Army obscured. But now a *Who's Who* of the Cadiz Knights (pp. 101-6) should be of lasting interest to all who wish justice to prevail. Therefore we may the more cordially welcome in Vol. x the list, distinguishing even between Essex's and the Lord High Admiral's Knights, and tabulating the services of the most outstanding; also showing that many of them came of ancient territorial families, whose forebears had served the Crown through several centuries, and whose descendants continue so to do.

With unconventional impartiality, Protestant and Catholic clergy are allowed to speak for themselves between the covers of one and the same volume; surely more to the purpose than dismissing them as dying for the 'unknowable'. They did not regard the life beyond death as 'unknowable', or prayer as a form of imbecility. And as no man can convey to others what he does not himself understand, it follows that no discourse upon the Elizabethan era can reproduce the atmosphere of the times if non-comprehending of what to those men themselves was vital: namely their faith in God and devotion to their various convictions.

We should notice how the Protestant Master of Oriel, in attendance on the Lord High Admiral at Cadiz, records his courteous amenities with the Bishop of Cuzco, and how the Generals gave this 'Popish' adversary a pinnace in which to go away before the sack of the city was authorized to begin.

So late as 1642 Colonel George Harwood was admonishing 'the Lords and Commons assembled in the High Court of Parliament' to consider what had been 'written by that brave and worthy Commander the late Earl

of Essex concerning sea-preparation . . . which was that the safest and surest defence for this Kingdome was our Navy, and that we could never be hurt by land by a foreign enemy unless we were beaten by sea . . . Reading the whole Discourse, . . . I found in it . . . some such worthy expressions which as they did much affect me in the reading so I conceive they might be of some use also for these times . . . I only use that Honourable Lord's own words. I leave their application to all true-hearted Englishmen.'

The foregoing extracts cannot possibly do justice to 577 large quarto pages of the most fully documented History that has yet been produced. I can but concur in the pronouncement of Sir Geoffrey Callender that to these volumes we should go, for 'all sea and land campaigning, and for every other aspect of Elizabethan England', and that no library which lacks them can 'claim completeness'.



A TENTATIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PORTUGUESE NAUTICAL DICTIONARIES, GLOSSARIES AND WORD LISTS¹

By Hensley C. Woodbridge

IT is the purpose of this compilation to present as complete a list as possible of Portuguese nautical dictionaries, glossaries and word lists. To add to its usefulness, it has been my aim to present such information as is readily available concerning the location of the volumes listed.²

(a) *Sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*

To my mind, it is an extraordinary fact that no Portuguese nautical dictionaries were published in these two centuries. For information on certain terms current in this period see entries 8, 17, 20 and 25.

¹ This tentative bibliography could not have been so long nor the entries so complete without the assistance of the following individuals to whom I owe a debt of gratitude: in Portugal, Jayme Corrêa do Inso, capitão de fragata, R. and director of the Biblioteca e Museu de Marinha; in Great Britain, Mr H. G. Whitehead of the British Museum, Mr John Munday of the National Maritime Museum and Mr John Bennell, a member of the Society for Nautical Research; in the United States, members of the staffs of the following libraries have answered queries: Library of Congress, New York Public Library, University of Pennsylvania, University of Chicago and the Mariners' Museum. The compiler also made use of the facilities of the University of Illinois. The items cited from the *Revista general de marina* (RGM) reached me through the courtesy of don José Simón Díaz.

² The following abbreviations are used to identify libraries.

BM	British Museum, London.
BML	Biblioteca e Museu de Marinha, Lisbon.
BN	Bibliothèque nationale, Paris.
BP	Boston Public Library, Boston, Mass.
CtY	Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
HMPOL	H.M. Patent Office, London.
ICN	Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.
ICU	University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
IU	University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
LC	Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
MH	Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
MichU	University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
MMB	Ministerio de marinha, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.
NjP	Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.
NNC	Columbia University, N.Y., N.Y.
NYP	New York Public Library, N.Y., N.Y.
PaU	University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
VaU	University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.
VMM	Mariners' Museum, Newport News, Va.

(b) Eighteenth century

- 1 Mariz de Sousa Sarmiento, Pedro de, *Preceitos de construção de navios e da sua maestriação e nomenclatura Portuguesa dos termos technicos da mastriação, e diccionario delles em Francez, e Portuguez...*, Lisboa, 1789. BM
Of special interest are Parte Quarta, 'Nomenclatura concernente á Maestriação, e construção de Ancoras' and pp. 135-85, Parte Quinta, 'Diccionario Francez e Portuguez'. Röding, column 187 of *Allgemeine Literatur der Marine* cites the title as *Elementos de construção e Diccionario Francez e Portuguez de todas as pessas de que se formão os Navios...* Lisboa, 1788. He notes: 'Doch ist es das einzigste Wörterbuch des Schiffbaues, welches in Portugiesischer Sprache gedruckt worden.'
- 2 Röding, J. H., *Allgemeines Wörterbuch der Marine*, Hamburg, 1793-6, 7 vols. in 5. This dictionary contains a 123 p. 'Portugiesisch-Deutscher Index über das allgemeine Wörterbuch der Marine'. For further details see *M.M.*, Vol. xxxvii, p. 66 (1951). UI
- 3 Neuman, Henry, *A marine pocket dictionary, of the... Portuguese...*, London, 1799, 175 leaves. For editions of London, 1800, 1808, see *M.M.*, Vol. xxxvii, p. 67 (1951). BN (Paris), NjP

(c) Nineteenth century

- 4 da Costa Campos, Mauricio, *Vocabulario marujo: ou conhecimento de todos os cabos necessarios ao navio; do seu poliam e de todos os termos marujaes...*, Rio de Janeiro, 1817, x, 108 p. BML
- 4a *Ibid.*, 1823, ix, 107 p. BM, NYP
- 5 d'Amorim, João Pedro, *Diccionário da marinha que aos officiales da Armada nacional portugueza*, Lisboa, 1841, 320 p. NYP
- 6 Mueller, C. H., *Polyglossarium nauticum*, Hamburg, 1847, 121 p. NYP
- 7 Bobrik, Eduard, *Allgemeines nautisches Wörterbuch mit Sacherklarungen deutsch... portugiesisch...*, Leipzig, 1847.
- 7a *Ibid.*, 1848, 752 p. BM
For editions of 1850 and 1858 see *M.M.*, Vol. xxxvii, p. 68 (1951).
- 8 Jal, A., *Glossaire nautique*, Paris, 1848, 1596 p. BM, BML, LC, CtY, NYP, IU
- 9 Reehorst, Karel Pieter ter, *The mariner's friend;... containing upwards of five thousand modern nautical... terms... in ten different languages...*, Kampen, 1849. NYP
For editions of London, 1851, 1865, see *M.M.*, Vol. xxxvii, p. 68.
- 10 Reehorst, K. P. ter, *Polyglot commercial dictionary in ten languages*, London, 1850, 404 p. LC
- 11 de Freitas, Antonio Gregorio, *Novo diccionario da marinha de guerra e mercante contendo todos os termos maritimos, astronomicos, construção e artilharia*, Lisboa, 1855, [viii], 556 p., [4]. BML, MMB
- 12 *Vocabulario nautico* (Portuguese-French) published by Dupont and Mendonca, Rio de Janeiro, 1869. HMPOL

- 13 Tecklenborg, Heinrich, *Internationales Wörterbuch der Marine, über alle im Verkehr vorkommenden technischen Ausdrücke*, Bremen, 1870, 496 p. BM, NYP, VMM
 - 14 Barão de Angra, *Diccionário marítimo brasileiro*, organizado por uma comissão... sob a direcção do..., Rio de Janeiro, 1877, vi, 286 p., 1 p. of errata. BML, LC
 - 15 Gonzales del Castiglio y Angulo, Guistino, *Dizionario marittimo Italo-portoghese*, Venezia, 1882, 191 p. NYP
 - 16 Macedo de Aguiar, P., *Diccionário de marinha portuguez-francez*, Rio de Janeiro, 1888. Book one, pp. 5-164; Book Two, pp. 3-121, 1 p. of errata. BM
 - 17 Lopez de Mendonça, Henrique, *Estudos sobre navios portugueses nos séculos xv e xvi*, Lisboa, 1892, 120 p. Deals with characteristics of the *nau*, *barca*, *carraca*, *urca*, *taforéa*, *galeão*, *caravela*. BML, BM, LC, VaU, BP, MichU
- (d) Twentieth century
- 18 Corazzini, Francesco, *Vocabulario nautico italiano, con le voci corrispondenti in... portoghese...*, 1900-7, 7 vols. For other data see *M.M.*, Vol. xxxvii, p. 70. BM, UI, LC, NYP
 - 19 Lopez de Mendonça, H., 'Sobre o termo nautico *carro*', in *Boletim de segunda classe* (Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa, Coimbra), vol. vi (1913).
 - 20 Quirino da Fonseca, Henrique, *Memorias de arqueologia naval*, Lisboa, 1915, 280 p. BML
Describes 41 types of boats and ships: *alaude*, *albetocha*, *aliva-doirá*, *almadia*, *almadrava*, *atalaia*, *azurracha*, *baga*, *baixel*, *balanco*, *balandra*, *balão*, *bancão*, *bantim*, *barca*, *barcaça*, *barcaço*, *barcote*, *barcone*, *barinel*, *barqueta*, *barquete*, *bateira*, *batel*, *batelão*, *bergantim*, *bicha*, *bixela*, *bote*, *brulote*, *buque*, *burcia*, *cabangue*, *calaluz*, *calemute*, *candura*, *canoa*, *caracora*, *caravela*, *caravelão*, *caravo*.
 - 21 Carvalho Brandão, António and Ferreira, Raul César, *Dicionário de marinha (inglês-português e português-inglês)*, Lisboa, 1922, 166 p. and 150 p. BML
 - 22 Azevedo Lima, Alexandre de, *Nautical terms. Termos nauticos. In English and Portuguese. Em inglex e portuguez*, Rio de Janeiro, 1935. Evidently planned as a two-volume set. Vol. 1, English-Portuguese. NYP
 - 22a *Ibid.*, 2nd ed., revised, extended and improved throughout, Rio de Janeiro, 1939, 2 vols. NNC, PaU
 - 23 Marques Esparteiro, António, *Dicionário ilustrado de marinha*, Lisboa, 1936, xviii, 176 p. 1st ed. BML
 - 23a *Ibid.*, Lisboa, 1943, 205 p. 2nd ed. UI
 - 24 Schröder, W., 'Die Fischerboote von Finisterre', *Volkstum und Kultur der Romanen*, 10.157-211 (1937). This article cites: A. A. Baldaque da Silva, 'Embarcações da pesca', in *Estado actual das pescas em Portugal*, Lisboa, 1891, pp. 371-461, which evidently contains lexicographic notes. UI
 - 25 Quirino da Fonseca, Henrique, *Diários de navegação da carreira da India nos anos de 1595, 1596, 1597, 1600 e 1603*, publicados sob a direcção de..., Lisboa, 1938, xlvii, 368 p. Pages 319-58 contain a nautical vocabulary based on the text. BML, LC, PaU, MH

- 26 U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis. Department of Languages, *Naval phraseology in English, French... Supplement... Portuguese*, Annapolis, Md., 1942, 43 p. LC
- 27 *Ibid.*, *New naval phraseology in English... Portuguese*, Annapolis, Md., 1944, 326 p. LC
- 28 Reis, Amphilóquio, *Dicionário técnico de marinha*, Rio de Janeiro, 1947, 352 p. BML
- 29 *Handy technical dictionary in eight languages*, London, 1949, 2nd ed., 1088 p. Spanish is one of the 8 languages. Evidently preceded by: *Podręczny słownik techniczny w 6-ciu językach...*, ed. by J. Mackalski and E. M. Rapaczyński, London, 1947, 670 p. Title on cover: *Handy technical dictionary in six languages*. HMPOL, LC

(e) General dictionaries

- 30 Academia das ciencias de Lisboa. *Dicionário da língua portuguesa...* Lisboa, 1793. LC, BP, ICN, MH
- 31 *Grande enciclopédia portuguesa e brasileira*, Lisboa, Rio de Janeiro, 1935- ; vols. 1-19, A-Pais. IU
For data on other Portuguese dictionaries see M 386-M 392 of Constance M. Winchell, *Guide to Reference Books*, Chicago, 1951 and L.-N. Malclès, *Les sources du travail bibliographique*, Genève, 1952, vol. 2, pp. 341-2.

(f) Loan words

- 32 Dalgado, R., *Influência do vocabulário português em línguas asiáticas*, Coimbra, 1913, xcii, 249 p. IU
- 33 Delattre, Jules, *De Invloed van het Spaans en het Portugees op de Westeuropese talen*, Brussel, 1946 (*Overdruk Tijdschrift voor Levende Talen* xi, 1945), 52 p. Reviewed by Van der Meulen, *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- & Letterkunde*, 44.64 (1946). This volume provides data on the following Portuguese nautical terms: *almadia*, *champana*, *coracora*, *jangada*, *junco*, *pangaio*, *parau*, *para* (pp. 43-4). Pages 12-13 provide data on the following Spanish nautical terms: *carga*, *cargo*, *cargador*, *cargazon*, *casco*, *embargo*, *galeón*, *patache*, *sobrecargo*, *tronada*. IU

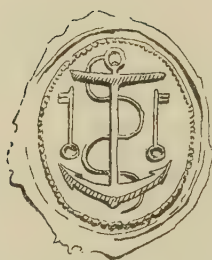
(g) Addenda

It is the purpose of this section to supplement the data found in the January and October 1951 issues of the *Mariner's Mirror*.

- 34 Altamira y Crevea, Rafael, *Diccionario castellano de palabras jurídicas y técnicas tomadas de la legislación indiana*, Mexico, 1951, xxii, 396 p. UI, LC
Reviewed by José María Ots, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. xxxii, pp. 393-5 (1952) and noted by Woodbridge, *Hispania*, 35.462 (1952).
- 35 Bosch, Felipe, *Diccionario náutico; navegación, meteorología y construcción naval*, Buenos Aires, 1948, 217 p. UI

- 36 Guillen y Tato, Julio Fernando, *La parla marinera en el Diario del primer viaje de Cristóbal Colón*, Madrid, 1951, 142 p. Brief notices by R. Konetzke, *Historische Zeitschrift*, 173.641 (1952); Castillo de Lucas, *Revista de dialectología y tradiciones populares*, 8.172 (1952); Y.M., *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 28.228 (1952). UI, LC
- 37 Howell, James, *Lexicon tetraglotton, an English-French-Italian-Spanish...*, London, 1660. Section VI is 'Seafaring affairs, and navigation, with their multitude of terms; The first Section of seafaring Affaires, and Navigation with their peculiar termes.' Followed by: 'More particular terms of Navigation, as also of the Winds, of the Laws, and Punishments at Sea, &c.' Amado Alonso in the *Nueva revista de filología hispánica*, 5.324-328 (1951) in his review of the *Tesoro lexicográfico* (no. 109 of the Jan. 1951 bibliography) warns that the Spanish part of the *Lexicon* must be used with the utmost care. Howell is also the author of *A particular vocabulary of nomenclature in English, Italian, French and Spanish of the proper terms belonging to several arts and sciences*, London, 1659. ICU, BM
- 38 Garasa, Delfín L., 'Origen náutico de algunas voces de América', *Tradición*, 1.21-29 (1950).
- 39 Gaviria, Ignacio, 'La jabega', RGM, Aug. 1945, pp. 173-178.
- 40 Guillen, Julio F., 'Naos y carabelas', RGM, October 1942, pp. 549-557. Commentary on *nao*, *carraca*, *carabela*.
- 41 Kahane, Henry and Renée, 'El término mediterráneo *tafurea* "buque para caballos"', *Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal*, 1.75-89 (1950).
- 42 Moder Pérez de Valenzuela, Stella, 'Chilenismos de Maitencillo. El lenguaje pesquero', *Boletín de filología* (Santiago, Chile), 5.379-422 (1947-9).
- 43 Olondo, T., 'Terminología naval. Unas gotas de literatura marítima', in *Ingeniería naval*, Vol. 8, no. 66 (Dec. 1940). Summarized in RGM, 120.669-670 (1941).
- 44 Plath, Oreste, 'El sentido oceánico en el hablar del pueblo chileno', *Revista de la marina mercante*, no. 34.7-8 (1943).
- 45 Plath, O., 'Lo marinero y lo oceánico en el hablar del pueblo chilena', *ibid.*, no. 35.8, 22 (1943).
- 46 Valera, Diego de, 'En torno al diario de Colón', RGM, 124.523-548, 799-818, 983-1013 (1942). This article began earlier in vol. 124 and continues into vol. 125. Footnotes contain data of interest.
- 47 Valkhoff, M., 'Een lijst Nederlandse scheepstermen overgenomen door het Romaans', *Album Verdeyen*, 1943, pp. 329-336.
- 48 Vidal, José Pérez, 'Influencias marineras en el español de Canarias', *Revista de dialectología y tradiciones populares*, 8.3-26 (1952).
- 49 Pereda, J. M. de, 'Significación de algunas voces técnicas y locales usadas en este libro, para inteligencia de los lectores profanos', in *Sotileza*, vol. 9 of *Obras completas*, Madrid, 1923, pp. 615-622.
- 50 'Un libro al mes', i.e. *Diccionario marítimo español*, RGM, 122.259-260 (1942), no. 41 of the Spanish bibliography.

- 51 'Un libro al mes', i.e. Zuloaga's *Cartilla marítima*, RGM, 120.619 (1941), no. 24 of the Spanish bibliography.
- 52 Gutierre Diez de Games, *El Victorial*. . . 1b of the Spanish bibliography reviewed in RGM, 120.818-819 (1941).
- 53 G. Friederici, *Amerikanistisches Wörterbuch*. . . , no. 113 reviewed by M. L. Wagner, *Revista de filología española*, 34.315-317 (1950); H. Meyer, *Boletim de filologia* (Lisbon), 8.367-368 (1945-7).
- 54 Gella Iturriaga, *Refranero del mar*, no. 121 reviewed by Juan Antonio Tamayo, *Revista de filología española*, 28.494-495 (1944), Castillo de Lucas, *Revista de dialectología y tradiciones populares*, 1.789-790 (1945); José Vara Fínez, *Verdad y vida*, 3.825-6 (1945).



ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY FOR NAUTICAL RESEARCH

THE Annual General Meeting of the Society for 1953 was held in the Lecture Room of the National Maritime Museum on Wednesday, 20 May 1953. The President of the Society was in the Chair, and among those present were the following:

Mrs R. C. Anderson, Miss M. G. Atkins, Mr W. T. Reginald Beckett, Captain H. T. A. Bosanquet, Mr and Mrs Edward Bowness, Professor C. R. Boxer, Captain R. S. Clement Brown, Mr F. G. G. Carr, Miss J. M. Flavel Carter, Mr F. Critchett Chapman, Mr R. J. Collins, Mr T. E. Cresswell, Mr R. de Bunsen, Mr William C. Fox, Engineer-Commander H. O. Hill, Brigadier M. W. Hope, Mr Arthur J. Hughes, Instructor-Captain T. E. Jackson, Brigadier H. A. Joly de Lotbinière, Mr F. P. G. Kershaw, Mr Basil Lavis, Miss K. Lindsay-MacDougall, Sublieutenant (L) A. G. Long, Mr R. Lowen, Mr Frank B. Maggs, Mr and Mrs E. J. March, Commander W. E. May, Mr C. G. Miller, Mr John Munday, Mr G. W. Munro, Mr and Mrs G. P. B. Naish, Mr G. B. Nicholson, Mr R. H. Penton, Lieut.-Commander and Mrs A. H. Phillipson, Mr E. A. Philp, The Rev. and Mrs J. R. Powell, Mr Laurence A. Pritchard, Mr Gregory Robinson, Mr L. R. Rust, Mr C. A. Satterthwaite, Mr R. A. Skelton, Mr A. Smith, Mrs M. Stuart, Captain Geoffrey G. Thorne, Mr A. L. Tucker, Mr A. H. Waite, Captain A. R. Williamson, Mr J. S. Wilson, Captain L. L. Withrington, Mr and Mrs G. R. G. Worcester.

MR R. C. ANDERSON addressed the meeting in these words:

'The Society has been in existence for 43 years now. If we were in the habit of having a sort of birthday party, we should probably have it on 14 June, because it was on that day in 1910 that a number of enthusiasts met at the Royal United Service Institution, with Mr W. L. Wyllie as Chairman, and decided to form themselves into a Society and get on with the work.

The first *Mariner's Mirror* appeared in the following January with Mr Laughton as editor. As most of you probably know, it continued as a monthly until September 1914, stopped for the First World War, re-appeared in July 1919, and went on as a monthly until the end of 1923. Since then it has been a Quarterly, and it has come out regularly and punctually as a Quarterly, without even allowing the Second World War to throw it out of its stride. That is quite a remarkable achievement, but even more remarkable is the fact that, in spite of steadily rising costs, and in spite of having lost the official support with which we started, we still get *The Mariner's Mirror* and various other benefits, such as the tea that you are going to have presently, for the original subscription of one guinea. I do not think there can be many other publishing societies in the same happy position.

If you will allow me, I should like to spend a few minutes in considering something of what the Society has done so far, what it has failed to do, and

what it ought to do in the future. Let me say at once that this is purely a personal survey. I am not speaking as President in the name of the Council, but I am taking advantage of my position to express my own views as one of the original members of the Society, and one who has been fairly closely connected with its management nearly all the time.

Our objects can be summarized quite briefly: to encourage research; to publish a Journal, and to collect material for a new Nautical Dictionary.

The first two things go together; *The Mariner's Mirror* speaks for itself and proves that we have encouraged research. It has not only been encouraged, but it has been rewarded by the fact that it has been published. Whether *The Mariner's Mirror* exists for the benefit of the Society, or the Society exists for the benefit of *The Mariner's Mirror*, is a very difficult question to decide. I expect that the secretary and the treasurer hold one view and the editor the other. The rest of us can be neutral and glad of the existence of both.

The only part of our original programme that we have not yet accomplished is to produce the Nautical Dictionary. There you will see, if you read the rule carefully, that the "wise men" who drafted our original rules (I will call them "wise men" as I was not one of them) left us a very comfortable loophole. Rule 2 speaks of collecting material for ultimate publication, and "ultimate" can be as far off as we like. Even if the Society dies before the Dictionary appears, there will still be no real grounds for complaint.

We have, however, various achievements to our credit which the original Rules never contemplated. The most conspicuous of these is the preservation and restoration of H.M.S. *Victory*, the establishment of this Museum and of what I might call its little sister at Portsmouth. It is true that these were due more directly to Sir Geoffrey Callender and to Sir James Caird; but no one could possibly deny that the mere existence of our Society was a help. Even Professor Callender, as he was in those days, in spite of his astonishing capacity for work and his skill in enlisting the sympathy of the right people, would have found it very difficult to accomplish what he did, if he had not been able to speak as the representative of a Society already recognized by the Admiralty as worthy of support.

Before we were born (I mean as a Society) the would-be student of nautical archaeology had very little recent literature to start him on his way. Leslie's *Old Sea Wings, Ways and Words*; Holmes's *Ancient and Modern Ships*; Oppenheim's *Administration of the Royal Navy*; Torr's *Ancient Ships*; and Chatterton's *Sailing Ships and their Story*, are about the only obvious choices; whereas in the last 40 years since the Society has been in existence, there has been a perfect spate of books on *our* subjects, and some of them

have been extremely useful and very important. It is quite possible that some of this work could have been done without the existence of the Society; but I think that in many cases it would not have been done so well. It is interesting in this connexion to compare the first volume of Holmes's book *Ancient and Modern Ships*, published in 1900, as a sort of companion to the Shipping Section of the Science Museum, with Laird Clowes's *Sailing Ships*, written with the same object 30 years later. The earlier book had to be based very largely on Charnock's *History of Naval Architecture*, which was then 100 years out of date, simply because the nineteenth century had produced so little of value, and Charnock is, or was, a most unreliable guide, especially in the matter of illustrations. Even if we had done nothing else in the last 43 years, we could at least claim to have "debunked" some of Charnock's illustrations.

You won't expect me to work through the 38 or 38½ volumes of *The Mariner's Mirror* and award a sort of "Oscar" for each year; but I hope you will allow me to mention a few contributions which seem to me to be particularly important, partly because that will show the things that have still to be done. Such a selection must obviously be a matter of personal choice very largely; I shall probably include things which others would omit, while they would include much which appeals less strongly to me. This merely shows that, as a body, we have been catholic in our tastes and have done good work from many different lines of approach. I have not checked the quotation, but I seem to remember that in one of the early numbers of *The Mariner's Mirror*, Mr Laughton spoke of reaching no definite conclusion from every point of view as being quite a desirable thing to do. We can claim to have looked at things from many points of view and, occasionally, I think we have reached definite conclusions.

Taking ships and their gear first and working more or less chronologically, we start with Ancient Egypt and with the work of Admiral Ballard and Captain Sølver, one of the foreign members to whom we owe so much. Then come the galleys and ships of Greece and Rome, and though we may be no nearer agreement as to how galleys were designed, we have at least had various theories expounded and disputed at some length. We have published long accounts by the actual workers of three modern pieces of excavation, the boats of Sutton Hoo and North Ferriby, and the remains of the *Grace Dieu* in the Hamble River, and we have dealt very fully indeed with the ships of, say, 1200–1500.

These were Mr Brindley's pet subject, and he investigated their smallest details of hull or rig, but he confined himself almost entirely to pictorial evidence (using the word "pictorial" in a very wide sense) and it was left to others to use English accounts and inventories of the end of the thirteenth

century and the beginning of the fifteenth, and some Italian treatises of slightly later date. We are a very long way from having exhausted the subject, but we certainly do know a lot more about it than we or our predecessors knew before 1910.

The sixteenth century we have rather neglected, but we have almost overdone the seventeenth, the fault being very largely mine. I think it is justifiable to mention the bringing to light of real pictures of the *Prince Royal* and the invention by Mr Robinson and myself of the new approach to the identification of ship-models by means of their dimensions. This reminds me of another piece of work, not in *The Mariner's Mirror* but in "Occasional Publications". We have produced lists with dimensions of the men-of-war of several countries for the second half of the seventeenth century. There is no doubt that these lists ought to be continued. The material is there and it only needs someone to deal with it.

After 1700 or thereabouts, our work has been somewhat scrappy. We have had studies of individual eighteenth-century vessels and we have had some interesting controversy about the origin of the clippers, but very little about the merchantmen which preceded them or indeed about the clippers themselves in their heyday. We have neglected the men-of-war of the last days of sail and the early days of steam, and while Admiral Ballard gave us a magnificent series of articles on British men-of-war of about 1860-80, no one has attempted anything of the sort for merchantmen. This may be because much has appeared in book form, but it does seem a pity that *The Mariner's Mirror* has not helped more in this particular direction.

I have left out all sorts of important contributions such as those on primitive craft, particularly by Mr Hornell; on Chinese vessels, on anchors, on the arrangement of decks, on guns and on flags, signals and semaphore systems. No one could deny that we have produced a lot of very good work, but there are still plenty of gaps to be filled, and even where most work has been done I don't imagine that those who have done it would claim to have written the last word on even the most restricted branch of our studies.

In the sphere of naval history as distinct from nautical archaeology, the seventeenth century has again had rather a disproportionate share of our attention. I won't weary you by going on trying to list what has been done and what ought to be done; you can look through the back numbers for yourselves and draw your own conclusions.

At this stage some of you will probably be itching to interrupt and complain that looking through back numbers, even if you have them, is a very big job, and will say "What about that General Index which has been so long on the stocks?" Well, there we do come to one of our failures and a big one at that. Such an Index is very much wanted and has been delayed far

too long. The story of what has happened is also far too long to be told in detail; but it is one of a series of misfortunes and disappointments. Three different people have begun to work on it and all three have found it too much for them. One, indeed, Mr Britton, died while working on it. Unfortunately each year that passes adds to the size of the task and unfortunately indexing, at least by amateurs, is so much a matter of personal choice of method that one man's unfinished work is of very little use to his successor.

The May issue of *The Mariner's Mirror* had an Editorial Note on this matter, and I hope that may lead to our finding volunteers to help with this work. It is not an easy task, but well worth doing. We have the matter in hand, we are doing our best, and I hope you will leave it at that. There is one point that I would like to mention, and that is that we can produce the Index to the first 25 volumes comparatively soon. I know that the ships' names for the first 25 volumes has been done, because I did that while Mr Britton was working on the more difficult part of the business.

That is enough for past history and hopes for the future. The present position is satisfactory without being overwhelmingly so. At the moment we have 1106 members, of whom 18 have joined us since the beginning of the year. Quite obviously, an increase in membership would help to make things easier from the financial point of view, and the surest way of getting such an increase is by the efforts of those who are already members. This afternoon is quite a good opportunity. Those of you who are members and have brought guests, persuade them to join, but I hope you will not stop at that.

In the same way it is for individual members to do what they can to fill in some of the gaps which I have already mentioned in the Society's work. I know from experience that people have a way of writing to the editor or to the secretary and asking: Why doesn't *The Mariner's Mirror* deal with whatever it may be that they consider important? The answer in most cases is that the editor would be glad enough to print something on a particular subject, if only someone would write it; the person interested is probably the best person to do that. It is an old saying that the best way to learn anything is to write a book or article about it. I know from my own experience that that is true. If someone wants to know about some particular subject, write about it, then he will know a great deal more than he did at the beginning and we shall gain.

Now I won't press this point further, because I can see that I might get caught in my own trap and be asked to write about all the subjects which I mentioned some time ago as having been neglected.

Before getting on with the strict business of the meeting I must, as always

happens, mention and regret some of our losses by death since the beginning of the year, in particular those of the Rev. Hugh Nelson-Ward, Captain Hemsted and Mr Rogers. The first was, as you all know, a descendant of Nelson's Horatia and the donor of a very large collection of Nelson relics to this Museum. Captain Hemsted was one of those who joined the R.N.V.R. when it was re-established in 1903, and worked his way from the ranks to the command of the London Division. I can remember him a few years before the 1914 war as a petty officer and a very keen signalman. Mr Rogers was the architect of the *Victory* Museum, which you will have seen from the Annual Report has now a full-time Curator and new equipment of cases, which I hope will make it worthy of the work he has put into it. We soon hope to be able to enlarge the Museum; it is only waiting for certain plans to be passed by the Architect.

Now before I sit down I am going to ask you to let me put from the Chair a proposal which does not appear on the Agenda. The death of Mr Nelson-Ward leaves a vacancy in the list of Honorary Vice-Presidents, and there is no doubt in my mind that we ought to elect Mr L. G. Carr Laughton in his place. Whether we can call Mr Laughton the actual "founder" of the Society I am not sure; but he was certainly the nucleus around which the various part-founders grouped themselves. If I knew a little bit more about modern physics, I could follow up this simile. In any case, you will understand what I mean and those of you whose memories go back far enough will agree with me. Even if Mr Laughton had done nothing more than this he would deserve our recognition; but he has in fact done far more. He edited *The Mariner's Mirror* in its infancy and he has contributed articles and notes on a variety of subjects more than any other writer. Most of the more prolific contributors to *The Mariner's Mirror* have been specialists, but even the most specialized of them have usually found that Mr Laughton could meet them on their own ground and was often ready to do so. His all-round knowledge of the manifold aspects of the Society's work is not only remarkable in itself, but has been for many years an inspiration and a stand-by, and occasionally a threat to other students.

I now propose formally that Mr L. G. Carr Laughton be elected an Honorary Vice-President of this Society and will ask Mr Gregory Robinson to second this proposal.'

MR GREGORY ROBINSON seconded the Chairman's proposal as follows:

'Mr Chairman. It is a very pleasant duty that you have put upon me this afternoon. The only thing is that I think you have pretty well said nearly all that I was going to say, and that makes it a little awkward perhaps. But, Ladies and Gentlemen, when 44 years ago some of us met together and

decided to form a Society, it was fairly easy, but it was nothing like so easy to produce the first number of *The Mariner's Mirror*, because it was the first of its sort. Well, Mr Laughton produced it, and for nearly four years, month after month, he went on, and considering that he was a professional writer, we really do not know, nor ever will know, how he found the time to do it during those four years. He had a pretty tough time of it, and the Society owes him a great deal. The President has told you that he can write on pretty well everything; and, personally, I still sometimes come up against a brick wall, and I find myself saying "I wonder if Laughton could help me?" I think that is the best compliment that you can give to anybody. Then, of course, I particularly feel that he laid the foundations of the Society well, and I am going to quote something that Laughton wrote in the early days; that was, that *The Mariner's Mirror* was for free discussion so that we might reach true conclusions. Sometimes I feel a little afraid that this has been forgotten. There is a wide school who think that all sailors have blue eyes and curly hair and that all the nice girls love them. They do not like any criticism at all. I know that I have been a rather quarrelsome sort of chap all my life, so that is why I always hold what is possibly an exaggerated idea of the importance of that saying of Laughton's. I think that any Learned Society if it is going to call itself "Learned" or wants to be called "Learned", must have open and free discussion in its *Journal*, and I look back to Carr Laughton as having started us pretty well in this way. I would, therefore, very much like to second the proposal.'

The proposal was carried unanimously. The Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting, published in *The Mariner's Mirror* were adopted. The Honorary Treasurer then presented the Accounts of the Society.

MR LOWEN:

'Mr Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen. The Chairman has pointed out that this Society still exists on the guinea subscription. I may say, however, that we are sailing pretty close to the wind at the present moment. You will see from the Accounts that we finished up with a credit balance of £27. 13s. 9d.; but our subscriptions were actually lower than the cost of printing the *Journal* alone. That doesn't account for the free teas or anything else that we may have.

Our Printers inform us that they hope the cost of paper will be reduced this year. At the same time they see that we do not have the benefit of it, because they have already increased the printing costs from 1 January by 4%. I hope that we may get over this year the same as we did last year.

The National Maritime Museum continues to receive very good contributions from the Macpherson fund, and the Society this year contributed

£300 towards the cost of that magnificent Van de Velde painting "The Battle of the Texel". All told, we spent over £500 on the Museum from this source.

Our Chairman has already mentioned the appointment of a Curator to the *Victory* Museum, and accordingly the Society becomes an Employer with all the intricacies of P.A.Y.E. and National Insurance schemes to look after. The admission fees to the Museum since the appointment of a Curator have jumped up enormously, three times as much as they were in the previous year. Indeed, I don't know whether the visitors come to see the Museum or the Curator! I do, however, want to congratulate him very heartily indeed on such results in his first year of office.

A few months ago we had a bequest to the *Victory* Museum. It was made by a Miss Dorothy M. Walker and she bequeathed the residue of her estate to the "Museum of Naval Trophies and other articles of Naval Historical Interest in Portsmouth Dockyard". Everything is going satisfactorily and two months ago the sum of £1000 in cash was paid into an account which has been opened as the "*Victory* Museum Account, Walker Bequest". In addition to that £1000 in hard cash, I am now negotiating for the transfer of Securities which amount to almost £6000. It seems that Miss Walker visited the Museum just after Captain Jackson's appointment, and then made a new will bequeathing everything to the Museum. I don't know how he does it!

Mr Chairman, I have pleasure in presenting the Accounts.'

MR EDGAR J. MARCH then proposed the adoption of the Accounts:

'Mr Chairman, I have much pleasure in proposing the adoption of the Annual Report and Statement of Accounts of the Society and of the "Save the *Victory*" and Macpherson Collection Endowment Funds for 1952. I think that the account Mr Lowen has given us is a very encouraging one for Portsmouth, and I hope that in the course of the coming year we shall continue to hear equally encouraging reports of the work of our Society.'

CAPTAIN H. T. A. BOSANQUET, R.N., seconded the motion which was carried.

MR G. R. G. WORCESTER proposed the re-election of the Officers of the Society:

'I would like, if I may, to recommend the election of Officers for the coming year. If you look at Item 2 on your Agenda you will see the list of names which it is proposed to elect. These names are all too famous and well known to need any introduction from me. I am quite sure that we would all like Dr Anderson to remain our President, a sailor, yachtsman,

author, lecturer, scholar, model-maker. Indeed, he has every qualification known to man.

For Vice-Presidents we have Admiral Sir Aubrey Smith, Lieut.-Colonel Wyllie, Captain Bosanquet, Sir Alan Moore, Mr Gregory Robinson and Mr Alan Villiers. With their pen and brush they have done a tremendous amount to help nautical research.

As regards the remaining Officers, we are lucky to have for Hon. Secretary Mr Naish; for Hon. Treasurer, Mr Lowen, and Commander Mead for Hon. Editor of *The Mariner's Mirror*. I don't know what we should do without these able men, and I have great pleasure in proposing the names of those I have read out'.

Referring to the election of new members of the Council, the Chairman announced a change from the printed Agenda, in that Admiral Hamilton wished to retire, in favour of Mr Bowness who would remain on the Council another year.

The Chairman continued: 'I will now ask Mr Laurence A. Pritchard to propose the election of the four new members to the Council mentioned on the Agenda.'

MR PRITCHARD: 'Mr Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen. I have much pleasure in proposing the names of Mr Edgar J. March, Mr H. V. B. Evans, Mr F. G. G. Carr and Dr Oscar Parkes for election to the Council. I have the honour and privilege of knowing all these gentlemen, and I am quite sure that the Council will greatly benefit by their help.'

This proposal was seconded by MR R. A. SKELTON.

MR NAISH proposed the election of the Hon. Auditors: 'I should like to propose that we re-elect Captain Archibald Cooper and Mr Smith as our Hon. Auditors. They have done most excellent work in the past, and I believe that they are prepared to carry on and do more excellent work in the future. I am sure that we are very grateful to them indeed.'

ENGINEER-COMMANDER H. OLIVER HILL seconded and the Hon. Auditors were re-elected.

The Chairman asked Captain Clement-Brown to report on the work of the *Foudroyant* Committee.

CAPTAIN CLEMENT-BROWN:

'I have not prepared a statement, and it is an extremely short time since the circulation of a very full report of the business of the last 12 months in the *Foudroyant*. I shall be very pleased, however, to say one or two things which perhaps were not included in that report.

We can divide our enterprise into two parts. There is the carrying on of the *Foudroyant* as a training ship and there is her restoration and maintenance as an Ancient Monument. She is, you will remember, the only surviving frigate in the Royal Navy and is the only surviving sailing ship afloat in the Royal Navy, which I think entitles us to maintain that she is an Ancient Monument.

I am going to deal with training first. The bookings which we have been striving to increase, and which will have to be increased very much more if we are to survive, have promised up to date, to be considerably better than last year. Last year's bookings, as mentioned in the Annual Report, was 750 boy/girl weeks, and the capacity of the ship is roughly 2000. That leaves about 1250 absentees from a full ship, which represents $3\frac{1}{2}$ guineas each less in our financial position, and it is worked out that if we did have a full ship our financial position would even then not be financially sound. So you see the obstacle against which we are striving. The most cheerful aspect is a very considerable increase in term-time bookings, and we have three full-ship bookings in term-time.

I am entitled to say in that connexion, that we have had considerable help from the Ministry of Education, and one of the Inspectors of that Ministry (who would sooner not be mentioned owing to his position) repeatedly advises us that it is only a question of time before these term-time bookings can be greatly increased, and I am quite certain that we shall, as heretofore, have no difficulty in getting the holiday months filled.

Now I would like to say a word about the new Superintendent. He and his wife are living on board the ship. We have found him efficient and enthusiastic, and we are fully satisfied with him. We all feel that we have a very great chance of succeeding under his supervision.

As already mentioned in the Report, we have acquired a sea-going launch, which is a very great advantage. We have never been able to take the youths outside the harbour except in ideal weather, and now, thanks to the generosity of Mr Hubert Scott-Paine, we are able to do so. I might mention that in the coming Naval Review week, we shall be able to make good use of this launch.

Before I leave the training, there is one very good item of news. King George's Jubilee Trust, who have been very good supporters for the last three years, have renewed their subscriptions to the value of £500 for the coming year. Indeed, that is not the only support that they give us. So much for training.

The condition of the ship is very fully described in the recently circulated Annual Report. Last year under the supervision of Colonel Wyllie, we were in the process of reconstructing the reconstructed stern of 1835; that

has now been completed. I have had a word with Colonel Wyllie about the two leakages mentioned also in the Report, and he pointed out very definitely that they were only due to rotten caulking and not to rot in the timber itself.'

The Chairman next asked Instructor-Captain Jackson, to say something about the *Victory* Museum. CAPTAIN JACKSON spoke as follows:

'I think I might be permitted just to say a few words about the ship herself. During the last calendar year, over 235,000 visitors have been on board. That is the best year since 1947 when the figure was just slightly better. During the year, of course, the usual preservation has been carried on, particularly to the hull.

They have carried on their usual routine work, mostly with the death-watch beetle. I am afraid, however, not with a tremendous amount of success. In this connexion it was very gratifying to find that a committee of experts had come down in April to investigate this problem on the spot. The members of this committee were Mr Frank Carr, Dr R. C. Fisher and Mr E. C. Harris of the Forest Products Research Laboratory, Dr H. J. Plenderleith of the Research Laboratory of the British Museum, Dr Hugh Hay, and Mr D. A. Mattison of the Ministry of Works. This committee was able to see round the ship and have preliminary talks about the possibility of using alternative methods of ridding the ship of this pest. As a first measure they recommended fumigation, and I hope that their laboratory experiments will be productive in using X-rays or some other rays for getting rid of the beetle.

I would now like to pay a tribute to the commanding officer of H.M.S. *Victory*, Lieutenant Southcott. I would like to express to you how much the number of visitors to the ship and also the way in which these visitors are received and the subsequent correspondence, depends on the commanding officer. I think his energy, his courtesy, his knowledge, and his innate love of the ship combined, make him a very worthy C.O.

As for the Museum itself, I am afraid you have been listening to rather flattering accounts about me, especially the hint about my effect upon old ladies, and I am afraid that this is going to make me very nervous in the future!

During the year your Council ordered for me a complete new set of cases, which are rather lovely. I do hope that you will come down and have a look at them. The place has had a fairly good spring-clean and looks pleasant. I have written a new Catalogue which will be on sale shortly at the price of 6d. The Museum has become a member of the Museums Association, and the

South-East Federation of Museums. They have sent me information about museum technique, all of which I find most useful and helpful.

Now I would like, in conclusion, Mr Chairman, to thank all the people who have made my job so extremely pleasant. In that I would like to mention the Commander-in-Chief himself, the Admiral Superintendent, the Commodore, the people who really do matter so much on the spot. Secondly, the commanding officer of the *Victory* ship herself, and of course yourselves and the Council, all of whom I know make my job so very easy and so very pleasant.'

The Chairman next asked Engineer-Commander Hill to report on the work of the Photographic Records Sub-Committee. COMMANDER HILL said:

'First of all, I should like to make an apology on behalf of the Sub-Committee for the very great delay there always is in copying photographs which are sent in and making prints from a negative. The reason for this is that we are so snowed under with work. Some of you will say that we should send them to outside firms. We have tried this, however, and the result has not been too good. We have, therefore, come to the conclusion that we must do them ourselves, as we are able to show our photographer exactly what we want and how we want it done. I would like to ask everyone to continue sending in photographs; we can still do with almost everything. Even a different photograph of the same vessel will probably show some other details.

We have at last got our Society's movie camera back from Norfolk where it has been for a couple of years. Mr Clark, of the Norfolk Wherry Trust, has been photographing the *Albion* for us and he has some quite good shots of her which I hope will make into a fairly decent short film when we combine them with those I took some 18 months ago.

There is only one thing more. I have had a letter from Mr Basil Greenhill, who really founded this Sub-Committee, and he is out in Pakistan with a movie camera of his own. He has taken three or four films of various native craft, including one of the skin floats that you have in the Himalaya rivers. He says if it comes out it should be rather good; so we may look forward to having quite a valuable collection of movie films fairly shortly, as far as Pakistan is concerned at any rate.'

The Chairman next asked Mr Carr if he would like to say something about the *Cutty Sark*. MR CARR spoke as follows:

'The position of the *Cutty Sark* is extremely encouraging. As you will have read in *The Times* not very long ago, the sum of round about £200,000 has been subscribed or promised; and on the 28th of this month the ship's

papers are being handed over to H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh, who will accept them on behalf of the *Cutty Sark* Preservation Society, and the ship will then become the property of that Society. She is being handed over as a free gift by the Thames Nautical Training College which owns H.M.S. *Worcester*, to whom she was given by Mrs Dowman, Captain Dowman's widow, in 1938. The gift is being made on behalf of H.M.S. *Worcester* by Sir Willie Currie, the Chairman of the governing body of the ship. How long it will be before it is possible to put the ship into her berth at Greenwich largely depends on how soon the site can be made available, and that is dependent upon the fact that people are living in the houses which will have to be removed in order to clear the site and make way for the extension of the L.C.C. Meridian Estate flats; and of course one cannot turn people out of their homes until alternative and desirable accommodation has been provided for them. It must be borne in mind that far more accommodation will be provided when the extension to the site is built than is possible in present arrangements, so that everybody will gain by the building of this sort of riverside garden, of which the central feature will be the *Cutty Sark*. The London County Council is providing the site for the ship free of cost. Plans are being considered for berthing the ship, and this will be the most costly part of the operation.

As I have said before, the position is extremely encouraging, and I am very glad that the President of the Society, Dr Anderson, has accepted an invitation to come down to Greenhithe, when he will see the handing over ceremony and will, I hope, represent the Society for Nautical Research on that important occasion.

Of course, we have not got all the money we need; we want all the support that you can give the Preservation Society, to ensure that the *Cutty Sark* will represent in the story of the Merchant Navy what the *Victory* represents in the story of the Royal Navy; and we want to see the restored *Cutty Sark* at Greenwich, where we can enjoy her for all time.'

The business of the meeting having been concluded, members of the Society and their guests adjourned to the tea provided in the Museum restaurant.

NOTES

LORD NELSON AND THE LOSS OF HIS ARM

The very informative article in a recent issue definitively settles the question to whom the honour is due of performing the amputation of Nelson's arm after he 'received a musket ball in the right arm'.

In the Municipal Museum of Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Canary Islands, is a Spanish cannon with the nameplate 'Tigre' (*Tiger*) which a placard states was the weapon that shot off Nelson's right arm. This statement leaves in doubt whether the admiral's wound was caused by a *musket ball* or by grape shot. Grape shot were iron spheres usually twice the diameter of musket balls and when employed at close range were a sort of oversized canister.

A Spanish poet writing of the occasion wrote:

'Maté á Bowen atrevido,
Á Nelson, le quité un brazo,
Á ventidos de un balazo,
Muertos, al Inglés vencido.'

These lines are susceptible of various translations but one could mean that Bowen and twenty-one others were killed by a single discharge of a cannon which also took off Nelson's arm. This would tend to substantiate the Spanish assertion that grape shot and not a *musket ball* was the direct cause of the loss of the right arm by later amputation.

EDGAR K. THOMPSON

NIPPERS

I cannot claim to any experience with hempen cables and messengers: but I have been ship-mates with chain messengers in the closing days of the nineteenth century.

As to whether boys were strong enough to hang on to the ends of the nippers when passed, I should say that physical strength had little to do with it. The action of a nipper was similar to that of a stopper, or of a ring-rope: and one knows how a few turns of a stopper will hold a rope under tremendous strain with little or no muscular assistance.

When a cable came in covered with greasy mud and slipped through the nippers (which was called 'heaving through all') no amount of hauling on the nippers would have had any effect; buckets of sand were kept handy and handfuls of sand were thrown over the cable as it came in, and the turns of the nippers were passed thicker. If that proved insufficient, racking turns were passed round cable and messenger.

In the navy, fore and maintopmen passed the nippers, fore topmen working before, and maintopmen abaft the bitts.

Darcy Lever (1808) makes it quite clear that in his day the nippers were 'clapped on in the manger, and the ends of the nippers are held by boys who walk aft with them: when they approach the main hatchway, the nippers are taken off.'

The method of passing nippers was exactly the same for both hemp and chain cables.

A. MACDERMOTT

FORT DENISON, SYDNEY

With reference to Mr John L. Lavett's article in the *M.M.* for May 1953, I have looked up the plan of Sydney Harbour and find that this place is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the Inner South Head and I do not think that Fort Denison can be said to be exposed to the open sea, but only to whatever sea runs into the comparatively sheltered waters of Port Jackson.

F. GILLILAND

BRISTOL CHANNEL PILOTAGE

Mr Grahame Farr in his most interesting article (*M.M.*, February 1953), mentions the scarcity of lines of the later Bristol Channel pilot cutters but in addition to the lines of Mr Frank Carr's *Cariad*, those of another *Cariad* lately owned by Captain H. F. Nash, R.N., are extant. These were taken off by Roger Pinckney, Vice-Commodore of the R.C.C., and published in the *Yachting Monthly*, Vol. LX, p. 230, January 1936. This *Cariad* was built by Hambley of Cardiff in 1905 and owned by a Barry pilot.

R. H. PENTON

BRISTOL CHANNEL PILOTS

As Mr Grahame Farr pointed out in his very interesting article,¹ the early history of Bristol Channel pilotage is obscure. Unfortunately, the records of the Society of Merchant Venturers do not add anything to our knowledge of the very early period, although they do throw light on pilotage in the seventeenth century. Bristol municipal archives, however, are a little more helpful, and the following notes are intended to give some additional information on the history of the service.

It is not known when Bristol Channel pilots first came into existence or when the city corporation first obtained a measure of control over them. It seems likely, although it cannot be proved, that the corporation exercised this control by virtue of charters from Henry VI and Edward IV which exempted it from the jurisdiction of the Admiralty Court and authorized it to establish an Admiralty Court of its own.² In the late eighteenth century when there was a dispute over the right of unauthorized persons to act as pilots, Sir V. Gibbs gave his opinion that ever since the charter of Edward IV, the corporation had been conservators of the Rivers Frome and Avon from Tower Harratz above Bristol Bridge down to two small islands called Steep Holm and Flat Holm. He added that by an act of parliament 11 and 12 William III, c. 23 'the Mayor and Justices of the said City may at the Quarter Sessions . . . make such good Rules, Orders, and Constitutions and nominate and appoint such Officer or Officers as shall be necessary for the preservation of the said Rivers and regulation and government of all Pilots, Masters of Ships etc.', adding 'It is supposed that the Common Council, or the Mayor and Aldermen (as representing the Corporation of Bristol, Owners of the Port and Conservators of the said Rivers) have time out of mind appointed such Persons as they thought proper to be Pilots within the Port of Bristol'.³

Although the Corporation claimed to have exercised control over pilots 'time out of mind', the first documentary evidence of that control seems to be in 1551. In that year there appeared 'Proclamacyons devysed and made for the preseruacion and meynenance and also for the good order of the porte of hungrode'.⁴ The first clause of this lengthy ordinance stated 'In primis Mr. Mayor of the Cyte of Bristowe and the Iustices of the same being Commysssoners of the Admyraltie of the said Cytie sufficientlie auctorized do straightlie charge and Commande all Owners of Shippes and all Maysters and Maryners and all other person and persons whatsoever they be, that they and every of them from hensforthe be obedyent to the Waterbayly of bristowe and to the pilates of Sherehampton, that be appoynted for the oversight of the Rode called hungrode, concernyng the removeing and placyng of their shippes that shall happen to aryve within the same Rode, and not to resist deny or withstande the said waterbayly or pilates or any of them in executing their office for the placyng, removing and moryng of the said shippes (that is to say) when a great shipp comethe with any kinde of merchandise or wares, then to remove a smaller vessel by their discrecion for placing and moryng of the greter shipp, vpon payne to forfait and

¹ *M.M.*, February 1953.

² Letters Patent 5 February 1446 and 22 October 1461 printed in H. A. Cronne, *Bristol Charters 1378-1499*, pp. 122-4, 132-6 (Bristol Record Society's Publications, Vol. xi).

³ Bristol Record Office: T. C. Bundle 11 B, No. 36.

⁴ Bristol Record Office: 04272, fos. 10 v, 11. Mrs D. M. Hill and Miss M. E. Atwell kindly drew my attention to this Ordinance.

pay for every tyme so offending . . . the somme of one hundred dukkettes (after v^s apece of Englishe money), wherof iij^{xx} dokkettes to be paid to the Chambre of Bristoll, and thother xx^{ti} dokkettes to the said waterbayly and pilates for presenting therof.

The second clause stated that masters of ships and mariners must not 'more their ankers' in the Hungroad except at places approved by the waterbailiff or one of the pilots and that they must put 'a pole or lugg at every of the same ankers for a marke and signe to all vessels passing through the said Rode', under penalty of losing for every default proved by the pilots 5s. at every tide, half to the city and half to the officer presenting the offender.

No one was to take ballast except in places fixed by the waterbailiff and pilots. One of the pilots was to arrange for payment to be made to the city for the ballast, and the lighterman was to be paid for his labour. No one was to shift sand from a lighter to a ship in the road unless a sail was placed between the ship and the lighter.

Another clause stated that 'no owner of shippe maister nor maryner do from hensforthe take any pilate to bring in or owte their shipps but such pilates of Sherehampton as be appoynted for the same vpon payne to forfait and lose of every shippe so brought in or owte contrary to this article the som of xx^{ti} duckettes, wherof half to be to the Chamber and thother half to the pilates, provided alwaies that it shalbe lawfull to all Maisters of shippes if they will take the charge thereof vpon them, this proclamacion not withstanding'.

The ordinance also fixed the rate of cannage (Keyadge) at 2s. for vessels of 50 to 100 tons, and at 3s. 4d. for vessels of 100 tons.

There is a good deal of evidence relating to pilots in the seventeenth-century records of the Society of Merchant Venturers. This was not available at the time when Mr Farr wrote his article but a selection from it has now been printed and there is no need to repeat it here.¹ As early as 1623, the corporation was appointing pilots on recommendation from the Society, and this practice probably began even earlier. The Society apparently made its recommendations on the basis of a certificate received from competent mariners.

After my volume on the Merchant Venturers had gone to press, I found among the Ashton Court records (at present in the Bristol Record Office) one of these certificates which seems worth reproducing:

'We whose names are vnderwritten doe allowe and approue Thomas Berrie a sufficient man to bee a pilot to take vpon him the charge for carrieing in and bringing forth of shippes from Kingroad to Bristoll, and from thence backe againe in the stead and place of Roger Wade late deceased. Witnes our handes the 20th day of October Anno domini 1632

Sign of *ƒ* thomas Coll
William Hayman John Mens
Rich^d Jeffris Robert Hull
W P William Pateson Robert Nesom.'

There follows a note from the society of Merchant Venturers to the Mayor and Alderman 'givinge Creditte to the Certificate abovesaide' and asking them to admit Thomas Berrye as a pilot.

PATRICK MCGRATH

CURIOSITIES IN NAUTICAL TERMS

In the *M.M.* for May 1953 Commander Davenport says that a mauve band is used to indicate mourning for the owner of a vessel. On the rare occasions when such a sign is used I seem to recall a pale green band, but I am speaking of the days nearly fifty years past.

F. GILLILAND

¹ Patrick McGrath, *Records Relating to the Society of Merchant Venturers of the City of Bristol in the Seventeenth Century* (Bristol Record Society's Publications, Vol. xvii, 1952).

I should like to comment on some of Commander Davenport's notes, and to ask some questions too. When did the overworked word *windjammer* appear? I first met it in one of the Captain Kettle stories about 1898; a derelict is sighted; 'Nasty things those old windjammers, give me steam', said Captain Kettle. I have never heard a sailor use the term. Last summer I was talking to an old sea-captain who described vividly what passing the weather earing was like on board the ship *Grace Harwar* (I saw her once). I asked him about *windjammer*; he said he never used it. Was it not, as in Cutcliffe Hyne's story, a term of contempt?

'Drops anchor' is of course right, and 'let go' is more common I think, but why is 'cast anchor' taboo? It occurs often in Hakluyt, and Smyth gives it. Joseph Conrad attacked it, saying that the anchor was not thrown but let go, and so great was his influence that from that day on the Press would not allow it. Now Conrad, fine writer though he was, was not an Englishman, and if he had thought, he would have remembered that 'cast' in English has the meaning of letting go as well as of throwing. What is casting in an iron-works but letting the molten iron go? A horse casts a shoe. Among the meanings of 'cast' in *Johnson's Dictionary* is 'to drop, to let fall.' I asked an R.N.R. officer in the Old War if he objected to the phrase. He replied that on the contrary he used it himself. Another thing; for some reason there is a dead set now against the good old term 'man-of-war.'

A.M.

SICKNESS IN THE FLEET

The appalling amount of sickness on board ship until well after the middle of the seventeenth century is well known, but the two or three instances cited below may help to bring home the state of affairs better than exceptional cases, such as Hozier's blockade of Porto Bello or Anson's voyage round the world, or general statements, such as that out of 184,893 seamen and marines employed during the Seven Years War, only 1512 had been killed in action or by accident while 133,718 had died of disease or were missing.

I do not know whether the ships noted are particularly bad cases. My attention was caught by the number of entries of deaths, but I was engaged on the investigation of another matter at the time and examined only about a couple of dozen of the journals of the period. It should be noted, however, that two of these ships were not employed on stations that were notoriously unhealthy.

Grafton. A 70-gun ship with a ship's company of about 520.

Sailed from Spithead on 12 May 1755, to join the squadron attempting to intercept French reinforcements to Canada. First death occurred on the 24th. By 21 September, 21 men had been buried. On 8 September, 112 sick had been landed at Halifax; a good many of whom probably died, for apparently only 82 rejoined the *Grafton* before she sailed for home on 19 October.

Cumberland. A 66-gun ship with a ship's company of 520.

Between 3 June and 5 September 1755, while on passage to India, there were 34 deaths (including 7 soldiers on passage and one man drowned). On 5 September she landed her sick at St Augustine's Bay, where 15 more died before they were re-embarked a month later, 'all except 3 or 4 in a tolerable state of health'. There were 6 more deaths before the ship arrived at Fort St George, on 20 October.

Panther. A 50-gun ship with a crew of 300.

Between 17 July 1759 (two days before sailing from Carlisle Bay) and her arrival at Spithead on 6 October, there were 33 deaths, and 53 men were sent to Haslar Hospital on arrival.

Torbay. A 74-gun ship with a ship's company of about 600.

Sailed from Plymouth (after a month in harbour) on 28 February 1760, to carry out ordinary blockade duty in the Bay. The first death occurred on 17 March. Before the ship returned to Plymouth, on 19 May, 44 men had died, and she then sent 193 into hospital.

C.G.P.J.

LORD ST VINCENT'S DISCIPLINE

Lord St Vincent is generally regarded as the embodiment of iron discipline, and he did, indeed, demand a very high standard of conduct from both officers and men, particularly the officers, who were often far too inclined to think that personal bravery and professional ability were all that was required of them. But although John Jervis could, and sometimes did, enforce discipline with an iron hand, no officer of his day devoted more constant care and attention to the welfare of the men under his command, and few managed their ships with so little punishment. To say that Collingwood 'tamed the hardest cases in the fleet: good men, whom Lord St Vincent would have flogged to death or sent to the yard-arm',¹ is to give an utterly wrong idea of the great earl's character.

As captain of the *Foudroyant*, an 80-gun ship with a complement of about 700 men, and one that was acknowledged to be one of the smartest in the fleet, John Jervis inflicted the following punishments:

Between 1 September 1775 and 31 August 1776, sixteen; in the next year, sixteen and five men ran the gantlope, one for theft and four for plundering prisoners on board a prize; in the next year, sixteen; in the next, eighteen, and in the year ending 31 August 1780, twenty. This was in war-time, when ships were full of pressed men and the sweepings of slums and jails (including, often, a considerable number of professional criminals). Jervis hardly ever exceeded the one dozen lashes authorized by the regulations, and when he did it was always for a double offence, such as running from a boat and drawing a knife on a petty officer, or drunkenness and riot.

The punishment on board the *Foudroyant* certainly exceeds that on board some other ships of the time, but it is considerably less than on board most of those whose records I have examined. For what it is worth, it may be said that an annual average, taken from the logs of nine ships-of-the-line and three frigates, based on the entries for one or more complete years between 1775 and 1780, works out as twenty-five for the big ships and sixteen for the small. The average for the ships-of-the-line is, perhaps, unduly high; for it happens to include the *Lion* (64), where 'Billy Blue' inflicted no fewer than ninety-seven punishments in a year (and 117 in the next six months, which I have not taken into account); on the other hand, the record of one of the other ships is some weeks short of a full year.

Nelson, as captain of the *Boreas* (28), with a crew of about 190, inflicted forty-eight punishments between 1 April 1786 and 31 March 1787, and twenty-nine between 1 April 1787 and 30 November. A good many of these were of less than a dozen lashes, but there were some of a dozen-and-a-half and two dozen. This was in time of peace. The punishment of a man for 'stealing and destroying the boatswain's sticks' suggests that there was also a good deal of unofficial punishment. On board the *Agamemnon* (64), with a complement of 491, there were twenty punishments in one year. Again some were of less than a dozen, but one was of three dozen.

Collingwood, as captain of the *Mediator* (44), with about 290 men (?), inflicted eighteen punishments in the year 1784/5; nineteen in the following year, and thirteen in the next fifteen months. Many of these were of less than a dozen, and none of more. On board the *Excellent* (74), 590 men, there were thirty-nine punishments in the year 1796. Only two exceeded the dozen, and many were of less.

An admiral, of course, was not directly responsible for the punishments on board his flagship, but it is unlikely that Jervis (or any other flag officer) would have permitted anything that he considered unreasonable. On board the *Ville de Paris* (110), with a complement of nearly 850, Captain Grey inflicted sixty-seven punishments during the bad year 31 March 1797 to 30 March 1798. Most of these were of two dozen, some of three, and one or two of four; but there had been a marked increase in severity throughout the fleet since the outbreak of the Revolutionary War.

On board the *Theseus* (74), 650 men, Captain Miller inflicted forty-two punishments, of one, two or three dozen, and one man ran the gantlope for theft, between 27 May 1797 and 26 May

1798. This ship had been in bad order before Nelson hoisted his flag on board her, bringing Miller with him as captain. Three weeks after their arrival, the crew testified to their loyalty and gratitude to the new command. Only six of the punishments occurred before Nelson was wounded at Santa Cruz. The *Victory* on the other hand, has the worst record of any that I have come across. In the last five months of 1803, there were seventy-one punishments, and between 1 August 1804 and 31 July 1805, no fewer than 330; three dozen being common, and four, five and even six dozen not unknown.

On board the *Ocean* (98), 738 men, a ship of the same size as the *Victory*, there were fifty-five punishments in one year while Collingwood's flag was flying. These were usually of one or two dozen lashes.

With regard to the suppression of the mutinies in 1797 and 1798, it can hardly be said that St Vincent was then dealing with 'good men'. The original mutineers at Spithead had, unquestionably, been as nearly justified in their action as is possible when the action itself is illegal. They had genuine grievances, which ought to have been removed long before they submitted their first very reasonable petitions; their behaviour throughout showed astonishing restraint, and they showed remarkable resistance to the temptations they were exposed to when they suddenly found themselves in power, and to the insidious influence of professional agitators who sought to take advantage of the disturbed state of the fleet. 'As an officer, I must condemn their conduct; as a well-wisher to my country, I must regret its being so exceedingly ill-timed; but as a man, I can find many excuses for them'¹ wrote Lieutenant Beaver on the day after the trouble broke out; and on 20 April, when the first outbreak was over, he added 'I had always great respect for an English seaman; I like the character now better than ever'. The mutinies that Lord St Vincent had to cope with were of another sort. The example of a successful rising against authority had loosened the bonds of discipline, and there was real danger that mass refusal of duty would become the normal method of ventilating any grievance, real or imaginary. Moreover, it was certain that rebellious Irishmen, and others of their kidney, were making every effort to foment discontent, and that the object of many of these trouble-makers in the latter part of 1797 and in 1798 was no less than the handing over of ships to the enemy, with the murder of all officers and men who attempted opposition. Nevertheless, in these grim years, after serious outbreaks in seven of his ships, Lord St Vincent hanged only twelve men. In other fleets and squadrons, after about twenty outbreaks, there were fifty-five executions and many floggings round the fleet. This last barbarity is one which St Vincent appears to have disliked particularly. Only one such punishment is noted in the *Ville de Paris*'s journal, during the year I have examined, and I am under the impression that I have found it much less frequently in the logs of ships serving under his flag at other times than in those of other squadrons.

John Jervis was undoubtedly a hard man to get to windward of, but he was a just man and merciful by the standards of his day. We know, also, that he was responsible for many little acts of kindness and consideration. All things considered, it is not surprising that, many years later, when the venerable admiral had occasion to pass a night at Greenwich, four of the old pensioners should have deemed it worth while to wait in the dawning, in the hope that they might talk again for a few minutes with their old chief.

C.G.P.J.

1 Lieutenant Philip Beaver to his sister; N.R.S. Vol. xx, pp. 408-13.

QUERIES

22. ELIZABETHAN ENSIGN. One repeatedly meets in pictures and on models Elizabethan ships wearing, usually at the mizzen, a blue and white horizontally striped flag; usually there are five white and four dark blue stripes.

What was the significance and history of this flag?

A. J. L. HUGHES

23. BARQUE JESSIE MCFARLAN. *Lloyd's Register* for 1854 contains an entry for the iron barque *Jessie McFarlan* of 268 tons, built in America in 1844, and owned by J. M. McFarlan of Greenock as a West India trader. She is not listed in 1858. The only possible American-built vessel that could fit these particulars is the steamer *Bangor*, built by Betts, Harlan and Hollingsworth at Wilmington, Delaware, in 1844-45. She served as the U.S.S. *Scourge* in 1846 and 1847, returned to private owners in 1848, and was sold abroad in 1849.

Can the identification of the *Jessie McFarlan* as the former *Bangor* and *Scourge* be confirmed, and is anything known of her history and eventual end?

JOHN LYMAN

24. A TRUE BRIGANTINE. Underhill's *Deep-water Sail* reproduces as fig. 14 the photograph from which the drawing on p. 28 of the *M.M.* for 1920 was made. It was there stated that the vessel was a Norwegian, in port at Weymouth during July 1890. It would be of great interest to have her name. Can this vessel be identified from customs records, shipping lists, or similar sources?

JOHN LYMAN

25. BATTLE OF SINOPE. In 1953 the centenary occurs of the battle of Sinope, where Admiral Nakhimov's Russian Black Sea fleet almost annihilated a Turkish naval force. I understand that this was the first naval action in which the high explosive shell was used. Is a detailed account of the battle of Sinope easily accessible?

J. DE C. I.

26. A MISSING SEMAPHORE REFERENCE. On 16 November 1927 the late Admiral Sir Richard Phillimore delivered an interesting and amusing lecture at the Royal United Service Institution on the subject of 'Naval Traditions'. He referred to one of Marryat's novels in which the hero, having quarrelled with his uncle at the Admiralty, decided to drive post haste to Portsmouth and read his commission before he could be superseded in the command of his ship. Once he had read his commission he could be turned out only by court-martial. To his great relief, when he stepped out into Whitehall, he noted that it was foggy and so the Admiralty semaphore was not working.

Mr Oliver Warner, our member and recognized authority on Marryat, is unable to identify the novel or the hero although he has considered all possible characters who might be relevant. It is suggested that Admiral Phillimore might have been mistaken and that the novel in question was not one of Marryat's. Can any expert on contemporary naval fiction supply the reference? The officer must have been of sufficient seniority to have command.

H. P. M.

27. TWIN-SCREW IRON TUG WARREN HASTINGS. Information is sought regarding this curious ship of 618 tons gross, 210 ft. length and with yacht-like lines, built in 1886 on the Clyde for the Clive Towing Company of Calcutta. She was apparently rigged for sail on the foremast, had overlapping twin screws and a unique arrangement of towing gear. Any information about her or her functions would be appreciated.

G. NESBITT WOOD

28. PEARY AT THE POLE. Captain Peary's claim to have reached 90° N. was doubted and queried after his return. Could any member tell me how Peary could have proved beyond doubt that he had reached the Pole?

G. RAWSON

29. EARLY HISTORY OF THE RIVER MEDWAY. I should be very glad to receive information as to the following: the commerce of Rochester and other Medway ports, 1540-50; the earliest use of the Medway as an anchorage for ships of the Royal Navy before the building of a permanent base was begun; any mention of Upnor as a place for mooring hulks before 1553.

GEOFFREY TUDOR

ANSWERS

19. (1947.) DRY-LAND SHIPS. An interesting form of a working dry-land ship existed some fifty-five years ago as one of the permanent shows at the old Crystal Palace. It was called 'A Sail in the Bay of Naples'. After paying a quite moderate price of admission, the visitor walked down a darkened passage or gangway to arrive on a quite realistic representation of a native sailing craft's deck.

Well-painted scenery in the background showed the city of Naples in the distance. The deck of the craft was littered with spars, cordage and marine gear, together with a deck-cargo of bales, boxes, casks, jars, etc. When a sufficient number of visitors had gathered, the hidden mechanism was set in motion imparting an undulating motion to the deck with rolling and pitching while a swishing sound was produced so as to represent the sound of the bow-waves, etc. Music was provided by a string instrument which seemed to be played by a native boy seated in the prow of the vessel. By gradually shutting down the lighting, a night effect was obtained with the lights in the houses of the town showing up very clearly in the background.

This was a very effective and entertaining exhibit, well worth recording.

W. ADAM WOODWARD

28. (1951.) EARLY GUN DRILL. The passage in *The English Encyclopaedia* quoted by Mr Fenwick in the *M.M.* for February 1953, is taken almost word for word from Falconer's *Universal Dictionary of the Marine*. It will be found under the heading 'Exercise' in the second edition which was published in 1771; whether it also appeared in the first edition (1769), I do not know. There is one difference between the two versions which is worth mentioning, as it gives a clue to the time when the method described was introduced. The words 'till lately' in the second sentence of the passage quoted by Mr Fenwick are in Falconer 'till the late war', which presumably means the Seven Years War.

After the last sentence of the passage quoted, Falconer went on to give the detail of the Exercise under the fourteen words of command listed by Mr Fenwick.

P. L. BUSHE-FOX

16. (1952.) PORT AND STARBOARD LIGHTS. The advent of steamships led to the matter of legally regulating running lights. The first regulation about carrying lights (two white lights) on board steamships on the inland waterways of the Low Countries is dated 4 September 1824. The use of coloured side lights there was prescribed in the regulations of 9 December 1845 which on 29 January 1850 were extended to all steamers in the open sea, restricted, however, to the 'much frequented fairways'.

On 30 October 1840, Trinity House issued a rule regarding steamships that to avoid collisions at night each vessel would put her helm to port so as to pass on the 'larboard' side of each other. As the port side of an approaching vessel was by the rule the side to be steered away from, the red light, signifying danger, was assigned to that side.

In 1845 experiments were carried out at Spithead between H.M.S. *Comet* and the shore with white, red and green lights for preventing collisions with steamers. For the introduction of coloured lights on board British vessels, Admiralty Regulations of 13 December 1847 to all naval authorities, are the orders of principal importance.

On 11 July 1848 an English Act provided for steamers only a red light to port and a green light to starboard with inboard screens. On 30 September 1858 sidelights were applied to sailing vessels.

On 1 June 1863 France decreed for her ships a regulation for lights to avoid *abordages*. This was the foundation of the present International agreement whereby all ships use red and green lights on their beams.

EDGAR K. THOMPSON

23. (1952.) **INFERIOR SHIPS.** In his reply to Mr Ritchie, our President in defending British men-of-war against foreign contemporaries cites among others the *Dreadnought* as 'introducing a completely new era in naval architecture'. But who introduced the idea of the *Dreadnought*? I always thought it was the Italian naval designer Colonel Cuniberti. GEOFFREY RAWSON

27. (1952.) **GABERT.** Thanks to A.R.C. and Commander Gilliland for their interesting replies. Through the kindness of Mr Dan. McDonald, Glasgow, I have obtained a photograph of the gabert *Mary* moored at Hunter's Quay, Holy Loch, round about the years 1880-3. There were two wooden sloops of this name, one of 43 tons built in 1842 at Dumbarton, the other of 42 tons, built 1845 at Bowling. The lower deadeyes are hooked to the chain-plates so that the mast could be lowered for bridges. The peak halyard is a single chain with a shackle on a bridle on the gaff. The runners have been unhooked and triced up to the boom, presumably to be out of the way for working the cargo. (Frontispiece.)

The other photograph shows two smacks aground in the burn in Brodick Bay, Arran. The distant smack is an ordinary coasting smack common on the Clyde about fifty years ago. The nearer vessel seems to be a large gabert for coasting work. She has a round stern with outboard rudder, and an open rail, high at the stern and lower round the ship. There is a cargo winch, and the gabert is cutter rig with bowsprit. This photograph which I have had for fifty years was probably taken about the last decade of last century, and I think shows one of the last of the larger coasting gaberts. J. A. STEWART

5. **A SPANISH ARMADA FIGUREHEAD.** In Captain Cuellar's Narrative of his adventures in the Armada and in Connacht and Ulster, 1588 (edition by Allingham and Crawford, Elliot Stock, 1897), there is a line-drawing of a lion holding a shield of the arms of Spain. 'Figurehead of a Spanish Galleon wrecked at Streedagh, 1588, now in possession of Simon Cullen, J.P., Sligo.' JOHN A. STEWART

6. **WARS IN SOUTH AMERICA.** While I do not know of the work by Hannay mentioned in the Query, I am wondering whether the book referred to may not be *Four Modern Naval Campaigns*, by Sir William Laird Clowes, published in 1902 by Hutchinson and Co. The second of the four is 'The War between Chili and Peru, 1879-1881', and the third is 'The Chilian Revolutionary War, 1891'. The fourth, which also bears upon South American warfare, is 'The Attempted Revolution in Brazil, 1893-1894'. A cheap edition of this book appeared in 1906. MICHAEL A. LEWIS

(R. C. Anderson sends similar information. Ed. M.M.)

The naval fighting between Brazil and Paraguay, 1865-70, is described in *Ironclads in Action*, by H. W. Wilson, vol. 1, pp. 257 *et seq.* V. C. DARNELL

La Plata, Brazil and Paraguay by Commander A. J. Kennedy, R.N., published by Edward Stanford, London, 1869, gives an impartial account of the naval river operations during the war between Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay. Another book, written in Portuguese, *A Marinha D'outr'ora*, by Visconde de Ouro Preto, published in Rio de Janeiro, gives the Brazilian naval side of the conflict.

I have been unable to identify the book by Hannay dealing with the War of the Pacific but an examination of the files of *The Times* should be productive during the years in question. It was during that war that a correspondent of *The Times* was embarked on board the Chilian flagship *Esmeraldas*, the first instance of a war correspondent being allowed on board a man-of-war. EDGAR K. THOMPSON

7. **HAMMOCKS.** These are not mentioned in the official Establishment of Stores of 1686, but appear in the supplementary Establishment of 1693 for flagships only. In this among the Boatswain's Stores are 'Hammaccoes Swinging', the numbers being 400 for the Admiral of the Red, 300 for the Admiral of the Blue and 200 for the other flagships. R. C. ANDERSON

Other than rum, the one thing the Royal Navy received from the New World was the hammock which for a long time was exclusively a naval monopoly. Columbus saw in the Bahamas the

suspended beds in which the inhabitants slept and which were called 'hamacs'. The new word was promptly Hispanicized into 'hamaca' and as 'hamaco' it came into English naval vocabulary during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I.

At the time of the Armada, hammocks were taken from the captured Spanish ships and thus became generally known to English sailors. Hammocks were first introduced in 1597. A warrant in that year authorized payment for 300 bolts of canvas 'to make hanging cabones or beddes for the better preservation of their healths'. Up to 1629 'hamacoes' were furnished for overseas duty only and in the proportion of one for every two men, a strictly watch-and-watch arrangement. In 1692 the word 'hamacoes' was spelt 'hammocks'. They were limited to a breadth of 14 in. as it was necessary to crowd as many men as possible in the space so as to work the guns. During the Crimean War, a new use was found for hammocks. Spare oars were cut up on board H.M.S. *Agamemnon* and fitted to the canvas hammocks and the first litter came into being.

Hammocks were always made of brown canvas until well into the nineteenth century. A ship prided herself more on the whiteness of her hammock cloths than on the appearance of her hammocks. After an action every effort was made to expend more sails than were actually damaged by the enemy's fire so as to obtain canvas for new hammock cloths and also new white trousers for the ship's company.

In the days of Nelson it was a common jibe at the French that they could not give orders correctly for getting hammocks up and down, for they said 'up' when slinging and 'down' when stowing.

This subject is discussed in considerable detail in Vol. 1 of the *M.M.*

EDGAR K. THOMPSON

9. CLIPPER BUILT. American dictionaries are in agreement that *Clipper Built* means 'built on sharp rakish lines conducive to fast sailing'. This expression has been widely used attributively with bark, brig, brigantine, fleet, schooner and ship. In Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast* we read: 'Looking astern, we saw a small clipper-built brig with a black hull heading directly after us'. The *Dictionary of American English on Historical Principles*, published by the University of Chicago Press (1938), gives many instances of *clipper built* being used to describe a sailing vessel designed primarily for speed. Clippers were first built at Baltimore, Maryland.

EDGAR K. THOMPSON

11. SPAR TORPEDO. The spar torpedo, sometimes called the 'Pole' or 'Outrigger' torpedo was invented by Robert Fulton as a piece of offensive armament for his so-called 'block-ship' in 1813. In addition Fulton proposed to use spar torpedoes from boats in the following manner. Each boat was to be fitted with a stout bowsprit; on the outer end of the bowsprit was pivoted a long pole carrying a torpedo on the outer end; after the torpedo had been shipped, the pole was so nearly balanced that one man in the bow could easily elevate or depress it with his right hand, and at the same time, fire the torpedo, by pulling a line which was held in the left. It was with this apparatus that Fulton intended to attack the sloop-of-war *Argus* at New York in 1810. Fulton's schemes for attacking hostile men-of-war also included the arming of merchant vessels of about 300 tons with spar torpedoes; the spars were to be 40-60 ft. long, and secured one to each bow, so as to move freely, like a swinging boom, supported by guys and topping lifts; torpedoes containing 200 pounds of powder were to be secured to the outer ends; the spars were to be kept triced up to the sprit-sail yard until nearing the scene of action, when they were to be lowered, so as to submerge the torpedo 22 ft. Fulton further proposed to secure the bows of these vessels together in pairs, with lengths of chain 80-100 ft. long; when attacking, the vessels were to come down from ahead and steer one for each bow of the enemy; it was expected that the chain bridle would take across the cutwater, or cable, swing the vessels bows on, and carry the spars under the enemy.

It is not known that any experiments occurred with the spar torpedo from the close of the American war of 1812, until the commencement of the American war of the Rebellion of 1861. It is believed that the spar torpedo was never used outside the United States previous to 1861. An article was published in the *Cronstadt Vestnik*, and afterwards copied into *Engineering* in 1877, stating that the Russian General Baron van Tisenhausen proposed to use offensive torpedoes during the Crimean War against the Allied fleet, which had become ice-bound while bombarding the

town of Kinbuon at the mouth of the river Dnieper. This proposition was not carried out, and it is not stated what sort of offensive torpedoes were intended to be used. It is also ascertained from the same source, that very successful experiments were carried out with the spar torpedo by General Von Tisenhausen, in Cronstadt harbour in September 1862, several targets and a small vessel being destroyed.

This weapon was universally recognized by the greater naval powers in the 1870's and 1880's, as the major threat to capital ships, until the acceptance by the U.S. and British Navies of the Whitehead 'automobile' or 'fish' torpedo which was the forerunner of torpedoes as we know them to-day. Although its span of life was relatively short (in actual war use only from 1860 to 1878) the spar torpedo was exhaustively studied and described in many texts among which are:

(a) *Torpedoes and Torpedo Warfare*. By C. Sleeman. Griffin and Co., The Hard, Portsmouth, 1889.

(b) *Torpedoes, Offensive and Defensive*. By Major R. H. Stothard, R.E. Chatham, 1871.

(c) *Notes on the Spar Torpedo*. By Lieut.-Commander Bradford, U.S.N. Newport, R.I., 1882.

In addition, the newspapers of the period (1875-80) were keenly interested in this phase of naval warfare and regularly reported its progress to their readers. Mr Laing is recommended to consult *The Times* of 1 and 26 February 1875; 19 September 1874; 16 September 1875 and 20 April 1877; and the *Mail* of 28 January 1878. These issues contain featured articles on the spar torpedo but are by no means the only issues in which space is devoted to the weapon.

GEORGE M. CUNHA

There is a brief description of this weapon in *Torpedoes and Torpedo Vessels* by Lieutenant G. E. Armstrong, London, 1896. Pp. 71-8 cover the subject.

V. C. DARNELL

12. 'KNOTS PER HOUR.' The use of knot as a unit of speed rather than distance is relatively new, and the knot is still the only explicit measure of speed in the English language. In American usage the change can be dated fairly accurately. Moore's eighteenth-century *Practical Navigator* defined knot as signifying a mile. Bowditch's *American Practical Navigator* (1802), an outgrowth of Moore, defined knot as 'a division of the log-line, answering in the calculation of the ship's velocity, to one mile'. 'Knots per hour' was used in the various editions of Bowditch until the 1881 revision, when the modern style was adopted. The British examples given by Mr Laing tend to indicate that knot as a unit of distance was retained slightly longer in British usage.

J.L.

The following passages occur in the MS. of *The Narrative of my Professional Adventures*, by Vice-Admiral Sir William Dillon:

1. 'The *Crescent* went at the rate of 11 knots Pr hour.' (In MS. Vol. II, p. 261: in the Navy Records Society printed version, Vol. I, p. 368.)

2. 'Away went the frigate, with a spanking breeze, upwards of 11 knotts Pr hour.' (MS. Vol. II, p. 283: N.R.S. Vol. I, p. 381.)

It is not possible to say exactly the year in which these words were penned in the manuscript as it reached me. It cannot, however, be later than 1850, and may be as early as 1820. The first example is particularly interesting because Dillon has made a correction. He wrote first 'at the rate of 11 knots', and then added 'Pr hour' above the line in a slightly later ink. In the second instance there is no afterthought. It is '11 knotts Pr hour' from the first. There can be no doubt about Dillon's qualifications as a full-time seaman. He went to sea in 1790, at the age of 9½, and served practically continuously for the next 12 years: and thereafter, up to 1839, he spent at least as long again actually afloat. He is a very careful writer, a stickler for correctness, and about as 'service-minded' as a man could possibly be. These are no mere slips of the pen.

MICHAEL A. LEWIS

It is of course quite incorrect to talk of knots per hour, yet many people did so who should have known better. The late Admiral Sir Frederick Bedford is the last person one would have expected to offend in this way; yet in his justly famous *Sailor's Pocket Book*, we find a table for converting Admiralty Knots into Statute Miles, with a note that the admiralty knot = 6080 ft. And again he

provides a formula which will give the speed of a paddle wheel in knots per hour. One could quote other lapses of this kind.

A. MACDERMOTT

13. ORIGIN OF THE PERISCOPE. Simon Lake (1866–1945) the American inventor is acknowledged to be the man who devised the periscope and used it for the first time completely submerged in his submarine *Protector*.

As early as 1859 Telar Van Elven of Amsterdam devised a simple form of periscope for a semi-submarine which he designed for use in the War Between the States just beginning in America. His semi-submarine was to operate with the conning-tower awash but she was the first boat to bring into use a device for seeing when almost completely submerged. The periscope consisted of a long tube with a mirror at the top at an angle of 45° to the vertical and at the bottom of the tube was another mirror also at an angle of 45° . Both the tube and the mirrors could be rotated. This was in fact the embryo periscope.

When Nordenfelt became interested in submarine construction, Sir George Sydenham Clark suggested to him that a tube with a camera-obscura lens on top would largely overcome the limited field of vision but Nordenfelt did not accept this idea. The camera lucida was also tried out by the American John P. Holland in his submarine *Plunger* without very much success.

In the French Navy, a Captain Darrieus devised a periscope utilizing two crystal rings of a triangular cross-section which reflected the image to two similar rings in the boat. This was received on a small mirror between the two lower crystal rings which reflected on a lower mirror and so to the eye. The centre mirror could be turned through 90° so as to reflect an object from ahead or astern as necessary.

Another periscope was invented by Garnier and Romazzotti. The front glass of this was a convex lens which allowed rays to fall on a right-angled prism. These rays were then collected by another convex lens and fell on a second right-angled prism which reflected them through another convex lens and so to the eye. The area of vision was 50° and a suitable mechanism was used for turning the tube round the whole horizon. No elevating device was used.

Simon Lake's periscope was called by him an Omniscope, meaning 'to see everything' and he installed it in his submarine *Protector*. This instrument had five lenses in its upper end. The four smaller glasses were so placed that with the instrument normal, one lens looked forward, one aft and one on each beam. Above these was a larger lens of four times the power; the smaller lenses were virtually finders while the larger was used to give normal vision. The large prism could be oscillated to secure a steady view in a seaway and could be turned so as to be in the direction of view of any of the four smaller lenses. Lake's Omniscope could be rotated or elevated while other periscopes were fixed. The *Protector* was the first submarine in the world to utilize a device for seeing surface objects while completely submerged. In the field of optics, Sir Howard Grubb was working on a similar device about the same time in an attempt to secure practically normal vision through a tube of considerable length.

Two periscopes were used in submarines as early as 1907. In peace-time one periscope was used to con the boat, the other to survey the entire horizon.

The first periscope in the United States Navy was not used in a submarine. It was designed in 1864 by Thomas Doughty, acting Chief Engineer of the U.S.S. *Osage*, a turret monitor. During Nathaniel Prentiss Bank's Red River Expedition, when bushwackers and snipers fired on the U.S.S. *Osage*, Doughty became so annoyed when the persons could not be seen by those on board ship, that he constructed a sheet iron tube with a mirror arrangement and poked this above the deck from the engine-room openings. When he saw fire from the shore he signalled the gunners of the monitor to fire at the points he designated. His efforts were successful and Admiral David Porter praised him for his impromptu invention.

EDGAR K. THOMPSON

14. EARLY SPANISH SEA TERMS. I have only been able to locate *catur* in a Spanish encyclopedia where it is described as a warship used by the rulers of Bantán. She was a boat made of wood with a high sheer and her extremities greatly raised and sharp-pointed. She had a single mast with a square sail made of native fibres reinforced with parallel yards to make it firm so as to catch the wind. The etymology of the word is not given. The location of Bantán is not stated but from the context it appears to be in the East Indies or the Philippine Archipelago.

EDGAR K. THOMPSON

REVIEWS

LANDSMAN HAY: The memoirs of Robert Hay, 1789-1847; Ed. M. D. Hay. HART-DAVIS. Price 15s.

It is a pleasure to welcome Robert Hay into the small band of lower-deck memoir writers of the Nelsonian period. His narrative has not, perhaps, the historical importance of Gunner Richardson's or the more recently published journal of Robert Wilson, nor does he write with Pemberton's flashing brilliance of style; nevertheless it is immensely readable and it gives an authentic picture, unmarred by propagandist intentions or any attempt to pay off old scores. It covers the years 1803-11 when the writer, then aged 22, deserted the King's service by swimming ashore (with the aid of bladders) from a guardship at the Nore. Ten years later, with his experiences at a most impressionable age still fresh in his mind, he wrote this account of his boyhood in the Navy for the benefit of his family. Those parts of it which appeared in a Paisley magazine a hundred years ago under the pseudonym of Sam Spritsail have now been skilfully woven into the original manuscript by his great-granddaughter, who has completed her efficient and unobtrusive editorial work by checking the facts with logs, muster books, etc. Her publishers have produced the book in the elegant form we have come to expect from them. The only thing lacking is an index.

At the age of thirteen this raw Scots lad volunteered for the Navy and served for some time as 'shoe-boy' on board Collingwood's flagship off Brest. Later he went out with Exmouth to the Indian Ocean, where he became the servant of the admiral's secretary, E. H. Locker, the son of Nelson's Locker and a future Civil Commissioner of Greenwich Hospital. Hay worshipped him and twenty years later tried to get his son into the Mathematical School there. But when the ominous letter 'R' was found after his name the request was refused. The picture Hay paints of the Navy as he knew it is not that of a brutalized service such as one might expect from the pen of a deserter. It is true that one of his masters was a tyrant, that the boatswains he encountered used their rattans pretty freely, and that conditions in the guardships were horrifying. When he was given leave on shore he lived in constant terror of the press gang, which ultimately caught him on Tower Hill in circumstances which exactly recall Roderick Random's experience thereabouts. But Hay is more fair-minded than Smollett. He pays flattering tributes to Collingwood's humanity and Exmouth's power of leadership in a crisis. He himself emerges as an intelligent, lively lad, self-educated, never rising above the station of ordinary seaman or holding any more important post than that of carpenter on board a merchant ship which, like so many others, he preferred to life on board a man-of-war. It would be difficult to find a fairer, fresher picture of life at sea in those days.

For those who have followed the 'nipper' controversy in this *Journal*, the following order may be of interest: 'Keep step there, all of ye, and stamp and go. Light round the messenger there, aft, hand forward the nippers, you boys.'

CHRISTOPHER LLOYD

HOW TO DRAW FISHING CRAFT. By STUART E. BECK. The Studio Publications, London and New York. 1953. Price 3s. 6d. net.

A former book in this series, entitled *The Royal Navy*, was noticed in these pages in April 1951. Here is a somewhat more pleasing work, compiled by our member Stuart E. Beck. No doubt it will be of the greatest assistance to amateur artists and others who may wish to depict fishing craft and their details of all kinds, but if an inartistic layman who has no intention of trying to draw may say so, this little volume is a great delight on account of its most interesting illustrations of everything to do with the subject. Mr Beck is a master of delineation not only in the familiar fields of English trawlers and drifters, but also with regard to the foreigners, including the vessels of Iceland, Spain, the Netherlands, the Bay of Biscay, South Africa, Scandinavia and the Newfoundland Banks.

DORSET HARBOURS. By DONALD PAYNE. Published by Christopher Johnson, London. Price 12s. 6d.

Dorset at first does not strike one as being a county having many harbours and, if asked to name quickly those which it has, most people would probably say only two, Poole and Weymouth, or

possibly Portland instead of Weymouth. In fact there is only one other real harbour and that is Lyme Regis, but in spite of this slight paucity of material Mr Payne has written a most interesting and pleasant book and by quite legitimately stretching the meaning of the word harbour has introduced several places other than those just mentioned.

He starts off with Poole, which is just inside the Dorset border and is in danger of being absorbed by the larger Bournemouth. Poole itself is of great antiquity and has a harbour of large acreage but most of it is very shallow. At one time, as Mr Payne points out, Wareham was the port to which all the ships went but later as they grew bigger, they went no further inland than the quays of Poole. The history of shipping at Poole would be worth anyone's study and the author of this book has certainly suggested what a wide field is there waiting for some historian to till.

The next place on Mr Payne's journey westward is Swanage, which strictly is no harbour at all but merely a somewhat exposed anchorage, but here again some very relevant shipping facts have been produced especially concerning the heyday of Swanage maritime concerns, when all the stone from the local quarries was sent away by sea transport; there is much that might be learnt here. He then follows on along the Purbeck coast and tells how the local quarries lowered their stone 30 ft. down the cliff into barges and how these barges were pulled out to sailing vessels anchored a third of a mile off shore waiting to receive the stone. The last of the barges to do this sort of work was still in active service in 1922; now all the stone goes by road.

Further to the west are Chapman's Pool, Kimmeridge, Lulworth and Osmington, all places which sixty or so years ago had a flourishing trade by sea; now but for one or two lobster boats and in the summer tripper steamers, nothing disturbs their beaches. Weymouth and Portland are of course well known but here again Mr Payne has discovered many details of old maritime affairs not usually told. The last harbour, Lyme Regis, which really is a harbour, like Poole (the first one mentioned) is only just in Dorset, and this too no longer has any mercantile trade other than a few small fishing boats; it is mostly given over to yachts and the famous Cobb is now crowded with visitors watching the local class races instead of the old ketches and stone boats. Many people will agree with the author of this book, who says 'I for one feel that when the last trading vessel casts off from a once bustling quay, it leaves that anchorage the poorer for its passing. So it is with Lyme. Since the summer of 1931, when the *Hasewint* brought in her last cargo of Baltic timber the Cobb has been only half alive.'

So ends this book, one which can be thoroughly recommended both as a guide to a beautiful part of England and because it has in its pages much information on some aspects of sea trade and life now finished, and also because it is delightfully written. There are fifteen very good photographs taken by the author and seven of Mr V. C. Boyle's charming line drawings together with a foreword by him.

H.O.H.

THE NAVY IN THE WAR OF WILLIAM III, 1689-1697. By JOHN EHRLMAN. Cambridge University Press. Price 63s. net.

The first thing that must be said about this book is that it is a work of rare and genuine scholarship; it tells us a great deal about the Navy of William III that we did not know before, and the gratitude of all students of naval history is due to Mr Ehrman for his patient and illuminating research. Like everything else, the book is open to criticism, and could in certain respects be improved, but no critic should for a moment forget the debt he owes to the author.

Mr Ehrman begins with a long section entitled 'The Background of Naval Administration' which contains chapters on such subjects as 'The Ship and the Line', 'Material and Supply', 'Shipyards and Dockyards', etc. Here there is little to criticize except in occasional details. In dealing with the ship, he appears sometimes to have misread his authorities; for example, he talks of bringing 'the ship's head to about three points off the wind', a statement that is clearly the product of some sort of confusion and in his discussion on the press gang and manning one suspects that sometimes he has mistaken abuses for regulations; surely no impressment would have been legal if carried out by a gang not under the control of a commissioned officer. Indeed, for the whole question of the legality of impressment Mr Ehrman might consult Mr Justice Hildesley's *The Press Gang* (1925) (in *Ye Sette of Odd Volumes*).

Such points are mere details, however, and it is not until we come to the second part of the book, 'The War in Progress', that a more serious fault shows itself. It is that Mr Ehrman has attempted too much at once with the result that such narrative as there is never takes wing, though the character-sketches of Russell, Torrington, and Nottingham show that he is master of a vivid and energetic style when he cares to employ it. He has attempted to deal with both administration and operations; each constantly interrupts the other; and operations come off the worse, for no clear picture of the course of the war emerges, and indeed it can hardly be expected to do so. If, moreover, Mr Ehrman puts his hand to the operational plough, he must not be arbitrary in deciding which part of the field he can neglect; he ought to plough it all equally well. An account of the actual battle of Beachy Head consisting of less than half a page is inadequate; nor ought he to tell us that 'it is not within the scope or competence of this work to discuss the wisdom of Torrington's decision' (not to engage fully and to retreat to the Gunfleet). Again, while several pages are devoted to the constitutional quarrel about who was to try Torrington, the court-martial itself receives scant treatment.

It would indeed be ungracious to insist too much on these examples of inadequate balance, and they are here referred to in no carping spirit; one only wishes that the author had confined himself to administration and not given himself more to eat than he (or his reader) can conveniently digest at a sitting. The great value of his chapters on the administration during the war (particularly interesting is his account of the construction of Plymouth Dockyard) is in no way affected by some inadequacy in the treatment of operations, and they enlarge our knowledge enormously. It is to be hoped that he will follow this work with another which will do for operations what this one has done for administration, and will deal solely with them. No man has better qualifications to do so. If he will employ for it the vivacious style he can obviously be master of, it might well have a wider appeal than the present volume can expect to have, for that is for scholars, and very grateful they should be.

The limited appeal is presumably the reason for the high price which, in spite of a generous provision of plates, fine type, and broad margins, seems somewhat excessive. If the book should go into a second edition, Mr Ehrman might consider making his own index. J.G.B.

TRAVEL AND DISCOVERY IN THE RENAISSANCE, 1420-1620. By BOIES PENROSE. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege. Price 32s. 6d.

Mr Boies Penrose has been a life-long amateur of travel literature, and those who have enjoyed his *Sherleian Odyssey* and *Urbane Traveller* will turn with pleasure to this more ambitious work. As he points out, there is no adequate one-volume history of the Great Age of Discovery in English, and the German *Geschichte* of Sophus Ruge, written in 1881, is not only out of date but out of print. Mr Penrose aimed therefore to fill the gap that exists between Beazley's *Dawn of Modern Geography* and Heawood's *Discovery in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, which at present is only covered in rather haphazard fashion by a multiplicity of specialized volumes, articles and essays. The book is written for the general reader, without the apparently much disliked 'apparatus of foot-notes and references' that the scholar looks for, yet the student of some special aspect of the subject will find this continuous narrative very useful, and also very pleasant and lively reading. The mass of facts, names and dates are marshalled and handled with conspicuous skill.

Of the seventeen chapters, the first two are devoted to the classical and medieval background and the free-lance travellers of the early renaissance, among whom, perhaps, Varthema was the most notable. Then follow the two chapters on the Portuguese adventures, while the Columbian saga and its aftermath occupy chapters five to seven. There is then a return to Portuguese Africa and to Magellan, while the English exploits (in three chapters) come relatively late in the story. After a pleasant interlude entitled 'Tourists in the East' a return is made to the early colonial settlement of North America, in Canada, Virginia and New England. Finally, there are chapters treating briefly of cartography and navigation, and descriptive of the geographical literature of the period. This is followed by a twenty-page Bibliography, arranged in accordance with the chapters of the book. Excellently produced and well illustrated and indexed, this volume would be a

pleasant addition to any sea library. And perhaps a sailor would be the best man to decide whether Columbus was indeed 'a superb navigator', or whether it is true that Francis Drake 'could probably sail a boat better than any other man who has ever lived'. Both men were well furnished with the best ship-masters and pilots of the day.

The section on the Science of Navigation, lying, it may be surmised, well off the author's beat, is perhaps the least satisfactory part of the book. The Alphonsine Tables, for example, were not tables of solar declination, nor did Zacuto's *Almanach Perpetuum* contain such tables, although it supplied data for their computation. The strictures, too, on Ferdinand Falcão's *Arte del Marear* (1535) are not quite just. He did not originate the idea of using compass variation for finding the longitude; it sprang from current ideas of the location of the magnetic pole and its relation to the compass rhumbs. The use of the Pole Star for finding latitude was much earlier than the use of solar declination, which only became necessary as the southern hemisphere was entered. Such slips, however, are only the very slightest of blemishes on a very delightful book. E.G.R.T.

THE NAVAL MISCELLANY, Volume IV. Edited by Christopher LLOYD, M.A. The Navy Records Society, Royal Naval College, Greenwich. Price to Non-Members, 45s.

This fourth volume of The Naval Miscellany, incidentally the ninety-second volume of the *Proceedings* of the Navy Records Society, like its predecessors contains valuable and interesting references to maritime history covering a period of over two centuries.

It begins with 'Documents Illustrating the History of the Spanish Armada', edited by George P. B. Naish. These documents, now in the National Maritime Museum, have not been published before. They reveal the optimism of King Philip II where he writes to Albert, Ruler of Portugal, who was to communicate the contents of his letter to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, that he should anchor 'off Margate Cape' so that the Duke of Parma could safely pass across his whole camp in small vessels for the invasion of England. When the crossing was accomplished he could then 'prevent the union of vessels in the River of London and on the East Coast of the island, with those of the South and West Coasts, the enemy will hardly be able to collect a fleet with which he could dare to seek out ours'. There is also the 'Song attributed to Queen Elizabeth' and 'songe before her at her cominge from White Hall to Powles through Fleete streete in Anno domini 1588', thanksgiving 'after the scatteringe of the Spanish Navy'.

'The Journal of John Weale 1654-1656', edited by Rev. J. R. Powell, gives a graphic picture of life at sea of one who served as a purser, and later as a lieutenant on board vessels in General Blake's fleet on cruises to the Mediterranean. References to 'what money the Purser hath laid out', and a very useful list of Blake's fleet in 1654 with the name of the commander, number of guns, and complement of each ship are included.

A delightful series of letters of Admiral Boscawen to his wife 1755-6, edited from The Falmouth Papers by Peter K. Kemp, Admiralty Archivist, show that the stern disciplinarian, when in the solitude of his cabin, possessed a gay cavalier affection for his Fanny and special interest for the comfort and well-being of his home. The letters cover his cruise to North America in search of the French fleet, and the references to many naval officers, politicians and ships, will prove of special interest. The series is in cheerful contrast to the letters of 'Prince William and Lieutenant Schomberg, 1787-1788', edited from the Hood Papers by B. McL. Ranft, which contain so many personal and petty grievances.

A very interesting document is 'The Reminiscences of Lieutenant Malmskold, 1755-1756', a Swedish naval officer who served in the French Navy. He was in the 64-gun ship *Bizarre* in Marshal de Conflans's fleet which met the ships of Admiral Hawke at the battle of Quiberon Bay. The translation and editing are by Dr R. C. Anderson.

Mr Ludovic Kennedy edits 'The Log of the *Guardian* 1789-1790' from the journal of Captain Edward Riou, from the day the ship struck an iceberg. It is a story of patience and perseverance which ultimately brought the doomed ship, holed ahead and astern, in fact afloat

only through the water in the hold pressing casks against the lower deck, to safety into Table Bay. Captain Riou was highly regarded by all who knew him, and, but for his untimely death at Copenhagen, he would have surely risen high in the Service.

'Corsica, 1794' edited from the Nelson-Hood Papers by Admiral J. H. Godfrey, contains interesting details of the bombardments of Bastia and Calvi, and also reveals the highly delicate and complicated relationship between the naval and military high commands. These are very important documents for all students of the situation in the Mediterranean at that period.

The origin of rocket warfare can be attributed to Sir William Congreve; and our members, Christopher Lloyd and Hardin Craig, Jr. edit 'Congreve's Rockets, 1805' from letters and documents which relate to the introduction and experiments of this weapon in naval warfare and its proposed use in the destruction of the French invasion army in Boulogne Roads.

Finally the interesting series of 'Letters of Lord St Vincent to Thomas Grenville, 1806-1807' edited by Hardin Craig, Jr. cover the last period of Lord St Vincent's active service and are a fitting conclusion to the story of this distinguished admiral who served his country so well for a period of sixty years.

The illustrations comprise a reproduction of 'The Spanish Armada' from a painting now in the National Maritime Museum, a 'Sketch of the Track of the *Guardian*', 'Rocket Launches', and 'The Attack on Boulogne'.

The mention of numerous officers, politicians and ships, will prove most useful to all interested in history.

B.L.

FLAGS OF THE WORLD. Edited by H. GRESHAM CARR, F.R.G.S. Frederick Warne and Co. Ltd, London and New York. 1953. Price 42s. net.

It may be asked why should the Society for Nautical Research concern itself with flags? It has always done so, and the answer may be that in earlier times the subject of national flags was generally dealt with in books on shipbuilding, seamanship and so on, especially those published in France and the Netherlands which contained many plates of ensigns 'que la plupart des nations arborent en mer'. Then, too, flags afloat are far more important than flags ashore, and consequently legislation exists for sea-going flags which is thought unnecessary on land. *Flags of the World* has an interesting history, having been first published in 1897 and recognized as the standard English book on the subject, for, except in the war periods, new editions under different editors have come out fairly regularly, always under the aegis of the same publishers. The format has been of a consistently high degree, and in 1933 Messrs Warne's excelled themselves by producing the book in an edition *de luxe* and under the different title of *A Manual of Flags* (temporarily).

This latest edition brings the work bang up-to-date (with a reference as recent as March 1953), and the information as to national flags is as near perfect as it is possible to be in an ever changing political scene. Full credit must be accorded to Mr H. Gresham Carr for having sponsored such an excellent book, and there is no doubt that by his unremitting labours he has sought out the surest authorities and carved out for himself a unique niche in this particular branch of science, and become, as stated on the dust-jacket, 'the leading authority with an international reputation'. There are no fewer than 300 flags in full colour as well as about 200 line drawings to embellish the text; for supervising all this so clearly and accurately our fellow member deserves the warmest congratulations of the Society.

There are one or two matters, more or less serious, that call for comment. In most cases the mistakes have been handed on from the last (1939) edition, but it is a great pity that they have not been rooted out. On p. 4 it is stated, 'A standard is that which stands by itself, as an upright post or pole, and the word came to be used as descriptive of the flag which flew from it, just as the Union Jack derives its name from the jack, or small upright spar in the ship's bows, from which it was originally flown as leading the ship into action'. It is to be hoped that this explanation of the word 'jack' will not be regarded by Mr Carr's readers as authoritative, or as a substitute for the proper version given in *Boteler's Dialogues* as to the King's flag 'in a small volume'. A truck is properly described as a circular cap at the masthead fitted with small sheaves ('trucks') for the

halyards, and it is difficult to reconcile this with the definition in the book that the ornament (crown or knob) on top of the staff is known as the 'truck'. The Union Flag upside down is still alluded to as a signal of distress, though at a distance no such distinction could be discerned; and the well-known Institution in Whitehall is still referred to as the 'United Services Museum'. On p. 74 the Admiralty Board is spoken of as *My Lords*; although it is sometimes improperly so used by journalists surely the only person who can use this expression is the Secretary of the Admiralty. On p. 13 Mr Carr says that it is not easy to determine when the masthead or commission pendant of the Royal Navy was adopted, and suggests that the date was about 1800. A reference to Perrin would show that he considered the pendant to be by far the most ancient piece borne by a man-of-war, with a date at least 200 years earlier.

With regard to Nelson's 'Historic Signal', for some unknown reason Mr Carr has reversed Popham's 'Telegraph' flag, and now describes it (and depicts it) as diagonally white over red. Since Popham distinctly said it was to be 'red and white' it is against all flag lore to pretend it is white and red. Mr Alec A. Purves in his recent useful book on flags describes it properly as being red over white. Furthermore, on 12 October 1946 the then Director of the National Maritime Museum authorized and signed and sent to the Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth a coloured draft of the signal showing the arrangement of the hoists and the correct version of the telegraph flag. There is no reason to doubt that this draft is used on 21 October every year on board the *Victory*; *Flags of the World*, therefore, is in conflict with the actual practice.

There is a short Bibliography, the purpose of which is not apparent. Is it a list of the works to which the author means to make acknowledgement? Or is it a list of books recommended for further study? The ten items include several on heraldry, and there does not seem to be much here of value or guidance to the would-be student of flags generally. Perhaps the work of Siegel, Perrin and Cecil King is thought to be too well known to find a place in the bibliography, but it would have been generous to mention their names, and to notice two recent excellent flag books written by our members, Captain G. G. Thorne and Mr Purves.

BENDS, HITCHES, KNOTS AND SPLICES. By LIEUT.-COMMANDER JOHN IRVING, R.N. Seeley Service and Co. Ltd. Price 6s. net.

The author is well known as the principal contributor of chapters in the Lonsdale Library, Vol. xv, *Cruising and Ocean Racing*, and this little book on 'Boatswain's Work' is merely a reprint of chapter eleven. No doubt it will be useful on board yachts and small sailing craft where there is no access to the more costly standard seamanship manuals.

TRUE PATRIOTS ALL. By GEOFFREY CHAPMAN INGLETON. Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1952. Price 42s.

The nature of this unusual publication from the antipodes is adequately summarized in its subtitle: *News from early Australia, as told in a Collection of Broad-sides, garnered and decorated by Geoffrey Chapman Ingleton.* The broadside, of course, was that black sheep in the lineage of journalism which almost from the birth of printing until just about a century ago never lacked a sale among those eager to be informed, down to the last gruesome detail, about the latest murder, piracy, disaster, public hanging or other sensation of the more shocking sort. The 166 examples which Mr Ingleton has garnered to make up this volume, period pieces from 1785 to 1855 and all of Australian origin or interest, include a sprinkling of other items conforming to the broadside form, proclamations, governmental orders of historic import and quaintly expressed notices of the pattern: 'The Committee for promoting the Emigration of Single Women to Australia give notice . . . that single women and widows of good character from 15 to 30 years of age . . . may obtain a passage on payment of Five Pounds only.' (The proposition doubtless had its attractions for some poor bereaved souls down to their last fiver.) The more numerous specimens of the broadside, however, are on the lines of 'Dreadful narrative of Lamentable Sufferings on Board Convict Ships', 'Seizure of the Sloop *Speedwell* by Convicts', 'The Awful Confession and Execution of Edward Broughton and Matthew Maccavoy', and other equally horrific matter.

Writ large in this bloodcurdling collection are the horrors and almost incredible evils associated with the transportation of convicts, the prolonged voyage in close and crowded confinement, the inhuman treatment meted out by brutal taskmasters, the hopeless misery and mental and physical torture of the chain gang; all these only the incidentals of a punishment intended primarily to be one of banishment. Of a certainty this is no stuff for those in search of light and pleasant holiday reading; indeed, the only good cheer to be derived from this very comprehensive testimony of man's inhumanity to man is in the reflection that at least in territories owing allegiance to the British Crown the standards of human behaviour have shown some improvement during the last century.

No work touching on the colonization of Australia can omit some mention of the redoubtable Captain Bligh and it is satisfying to come upon reproductions of one or two documents relating to his brief but sensational Governorship of New South Wales; echoes of which are also found in a Proclamation by Governor Macquarie in January 1810 from which it appears that had Bligh still been on hand in Australia at that date he would have been accorded a token 24-hour reinstatement before Macquarie took over; this by direct command of the King.

Largely sensational in style as material derived from broadsides must necessarily be, the serious student with an aptitude for reading between the lines as well as along them will find much here of quite solid interest, and for the maritime minded in particular there is much that is informative. The 'tween-decks plan of an emigrant ship in 1844, for instance, is revealing: whereas a 6-ft. by 2-ft. bedplace was provided for single men or youths, single females were required to sleep in pairs in bedplaces 6 ft. by 3 ft. There was no catering for the 'out-sizes' in those days! There are illuminating fragments on other matters: the 'purchase' by certain unscrupulous settlers of tens of thousands of acres of virgin land from the ignorant blacks for 'figs' of tobacco and bottles of rum; on the use of convict labour to make Australia's early roads; on the provision of buoys and beacons off the larger ports after bitter experience had shown the need for them.

Mr Inglefield's sources of material are numerous and include both public and private documents. As much as possible of his material has been reproduced in facsimile, but where this has not been possible he has at least left the text unaltered. The result is certainly quite a remarkable production of more than passing interest and possessing a considerable curio value.

ALAN F. DAKIN

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

DENMARK. A Monthly Review of Anglo-Danish Relations. May 1953. Price 1s. Contains a reprint of Mr Henningsen's article on Ship-Models in Danish Churches which appeared in *The Mariner's Mirror*, November 1952.

THE JOURNAL OF TRANSPORT HISTORY. Vol. 1, No. 1, May 1953. A new venture. To be published twice yearly by the University College of Leicester. Price 10s. This number contains an article on 'James Green as Canal Engineer'.

J. LAURITZEN LINES: NEWS. Copenhagen. May 1953.

T.S. 'DUFFERIN' 1927-1952. Published by Silver Jubilee Celebration Committee. Training-ship for cadets in the Indian Navy, Port, Pilotage, Survey and other services.

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